MENAS Socio-Economic Studies

The Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco

Daily Life and Recent History

David Hart

This book, a companion volume to the author's DADDA 'ATTA & HIS FORTY GRANDSONS, describes the Ait 'Atta's traditional environment, their myths of origin, their daily life and material culture and the complex systems of patronage-clientage that they developed as they expanded through the Sahara fringe of southern Morocco. David Hart also discusses in detail the way in which the Ait 'Atta responded to French penetration into southern Morocco at the start of the twentieth century and their tenacious struggle against colonial pacification which lasted until 1934. Together with his previous study on the Ait 'Atta, this book provides one of the most detailed accounts available to date of the lifestyle, political structure and recent history of a rural tribal population in the Muslim world of North Africa.

THE AIT 'ATTA OF SOUTHERN MOROCCO

DAILY LIFE & RECENT HISTORY

by

DAVID HART

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للدراسات و الابحاث
CENTRE TARIK IBN ZYAD
POUR LES ETUDES ET LA RECHERCHE

DEDICATION

To Qaid 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu n-Ait Ba Slam,
as well as to all the rest of the Ait 'Atta,
with admiration, affection and respect; and
to Ursula, for these same reasons and
with love.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Most of the acknowledgements to be made in this book are simply a repetition of those already made in its precursor, Dadda 'Atta And His Forty Grandsons: The Socio-Political Organisation of the Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco (Menas Press Ltd., 1981), to which the present work is the sequel. The anthropological fieldwork which resulted in both volumes, together with a number of articles cited in the footnotes at the end of each chapter, took the equivalent of one full year of work, between 1960 and 1965 with three additional and short revisits in 1975, 1978 and 1981. My thanks are extended, first of all, to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, for which I was then engaged in a prolonged anthropological field project in Morocco (1959-1967), for having funded the research.

It is, of course, no truism for any anthropologist to state that his greatest debt is to the people among whom he has worked and this is certainly true in my own case. I owe the Ait 'Atta, and their neighbours and former enemies, individually and collectively, a debt that I can never properly repay. I will always remember with gratitude the insistence of the Ait 'Atta that I get down the details correctly not only of their social organisation and customary law, but also of their daily life and recent history which together form the subject matter of this book. My greatest individual debts go, first and foremost, to my friend Qaid 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu n-Ait Ba Slam, now in well-merited retirement at Taghya n-Ilimshan near Tinghir, and secondly, to Hammu u-Lahsin n-Ait Mhand u-Sa'id, also of the Ilimshan clan in the Saghru, while my greatest collective debt goes to the Ait Usikis, among whom I spent five months in 1961 and 1962 and again in 1965, field-working in depth in order to focus on a single community as representative of the Ait 'Atta as a whole. The very large remaining area of investigation was almost completely covered during a period of seven months through on-the-spot interviewing. In this connection, I owe another irremediable debt to my one-time field-assistant-cum-interpreter and cross-checker of data, who prefers to remain anonymous, while on the 1975 visit Abdallah Hammoudi and Mohammed Njima also provided useful suggestions and information. The 1978 and 1981 visits were only very quick ones to Taghya n-Ilimshan in order to see Qaid 'Ali.

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draft and most of the second draft of the manuscript. To her, as well as to Qaid 'Ali and to the Ait 'Atta at large, I have dedicated both this work and its precursor.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

It is now generally recognised that in North Africa in general and in Morocco in particular, transliteration of vernacular terms and names, whether Berber or Arabic, poses real pitfalls for the unwary. In this book, as in its precursor, Dadda 'Atta And His Forty Grandsons: The Socio-Political Organisation of the Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco (Menas Press Ltd., 1981), I have tried to be as consistent as possible to a standardised form of transliteration in both cases. Official spellings of place names kept on from the French Protectorate period are initially given in parentheses and then, for the most part, abandoned as being inexact in favour of the more correct Berber (in this case, Tamazight) or Arabic forms. However, for reasons of expense, no diacritical marks for any consonants save the 'ain, designated by a comma just above and to the left of the vowel which follows it, are used in the text. Those consonants which necessitate macrons underneath them (ḍ, ḥ, ṣ, ṭ and ẓ) are given in their correct form in both the glossary and the index. Except for the short i, the three main vowels (a, i, u) are much as in Italian or Spanish, while x, where it occurs (only in some Berber terms) has the value of German ch as in ich. The Arabic hamza has been omitted in all cases.

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(Photographer Colonel Sanlay, reproduced by permission of Jacques Géradin)

The author with Qaid 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu u-Ba-Slam (Ilimshan) (Ikniwn) 1961

Ait 'Atta architecture

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Usikis - Igharm n-Ait Y'azza
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GLOSSARY

Note:

1. Where the spelling of a word is at variance with that used in the text, the correct version is given in parentheses.
2. Linguistic origins are indicated as:
   (a) Arabic
   (b) Berber (Tamazight)
   (c) Berber (Rifian)
   (d) Berber (Tashilhit)
3. pl = plural
   sing = singular
   f. = feminine form
   m. = masculine form

A.I.: affaires indigènes (service des) - French military administration in tribal areas.

abarrah (abarraḥ) (b): market crier

addjar (b): camping units of seven tents or less

afanigg (b): penalty for broken oath

agaiwar (b): crow

agdud (b): annual pilgrimage-cum-fair held at shrine of important saint

agguddim (b): watch-tower

aghu (b): milk

aghyul (b): donkey

agudal, pl. igudlan (b): collective pasture with rigidly fixed opening and closing dates

agurram, pl. igurramen (b): saint

ahandir (aḥandir) (b): women's blanket with design indicating clan of origin

ahajjam (aḥajjam) (b): barber-bleeder

ahalliw (aḥalliw) (b): fox

ahartan (aḥarṭan, pl. iḥarṭan, f. taḥarṭant, pl. tiḥarṭanin) (b): Hartani (a: Ḥarṭani, pl. Ḥaraṭin) or

Drawi (a: pl. Drawa), black oasis-dwelling agriculturalist

ahidus (ahidus) (b): dance performed by all Imazighen tribes, with tribal variations

ahuk (b): he-goat

ahwash (ahwash) (d): dance performed by all Ishilhayen (Ishilhayen) tribes, with tribal variations

ait (sing. u-, f. ist, sing. ut-) (b): people, children (see u-, below)

aitarbi'in (c) or ait arba'in (d): tribal council among Rifians (aitharbi'in) and among most Ishilhayen Berbers and Western Saharan nomads (ait arba'in)

Ait Dra (sing. u-Dra) (b): Haratin, Drawa

Ait Ghurm Udi (b): Ait 'Atta nickname for Ait Murghad

ait l-burtqiz (b) or ulad l-burtqiz (a): "Portuguese", refers to any recognizably non-Islamic ruins

ait l-haqq (ait l-ḥaqq) (b): "people of the truth", specialists in customary law, lay judges

ait l-khair (b): those who want peace

ait l-'ar (b): those who want vengeance

ait tmurt (sing. u-tmurt, f. ist tmurt, sing. ut-tmurt) (b): members of protected groups, ie., Haratin or Drawa

ait ughu or aitmaten n-ughu (b): milk brothers, foster brothers

ait 'ashra (b): "people of ten", lineage-mates, co-jurors

aitma (sing. iyma) (b): brothers, agnates

ajmu' (b): council

akal (b): common or collective land

akarkur (b): cairn

akhammas (b): sharecropper receiving 1/5 of harvest

akhatar (b): big man, notable

Allahu Akbar (a) (b): God is great

Allah yin'al sh-Shitan (sh-Shiṭan) (a) (b): May God curse the Devil

allin (sing. tit) (b): eyes

allin ikhkhan (b): the evil eye

allun (b): tambourine

am tiutmin (b): "like women", Ait 'Atta characterization of Haratin

amdyaz (b): bard, musician

amghar (b): chief

amghar n-l-'ar (b): adjudicator (in Ktawa) of Ait 'Atta-Haratin disputes

amghar n-tmazirt (b): clan chief, land chief

amghar n-ufilla (b): top chief

amgun (b): sleeping child, long-term pregnancy

amqqran, pl. imqqranen or imuqqran (b): big man, notable

amttin (b): corpse

amyisa, pl. imyisaten (b): agnate

amzil (b): blacksmith

amzttid (amzṭṭiḍ) (b): paid tribal protector of traveller (see also mzattat, tazttat, and zattata)

amzwug, pl. imzwagen (b): murderer in exile (see imzwagen)

am'allin (b): ram sacrificed at 'Aid l-Kbir feast

anafalman (b): peace

anagam (b) donkey (before breakfast)

anahkam (anaḥkam/anaḥsham) (b): lay judge, oath administrator

anigmar (b): cat (before breakfast)

anmuttar (b): dog (before breakfast)

anrar n-l-hisab (n-l-ḥisab) (b): "threshing floor of the reckoning", place where the dead await judgement

aqaddar (b): potter

aqatta' (aqaṭṭa') n-ubrid (pl. iqaṭṭa'n n-ibriden) (b): "road cutter", bandit, highwayman

arkan ad-din (a): the five pillars of Islam

arssam, pl. irssamen (b): guardian (in Ktawa) of plot of land not one's own (see rassama)

aruku (b): clothing and furnishings taken by bride to groom's house

aryaz pl. iriyzen (b): man, husband

arzum (b): divorce

ashiddad (b): post-harvest prayer and offering to saints (in Saghru)

asif (b): river

asuqi (b): "market habitué", Hartani, Drawi

as'adda or aṯs'adda (b): the 'idda (a), obligatory three-month wait for women between divorce or widowhood and remarriage

awjja (b): mountain peak

awttu (awṭṭu) (b): hostilities

awujil (b): orphan

aya-ralla-buya (c): Rifian refrain and dance

ayddid n-l-jinnt (b): "bird of heaven", child deceased in state of innocence

azalagh (b): he-goat

aza'dud (b): Barbary monkey

azum (b): Ramadan fast

a'aban (b): sheet with peace offering

a'abbar (b): market weigher

a'ammi, pl. i'ammin (b): illiterate, ordinary tribesman

a'asib (a'aṣib) (b): agnate, guardian

bab n-umur (b): lineage headman

baraka (a) (b): blessing, divine grace, miracle-working ability

Bismillah ar-Rahman (ar-Raḥman) ar Rahim (ar-Raḥim) (a): In the name of God, the merciful, the Compassionate

bu azilmad (b): left-handed person

bu ighulliden (bu ighulliden) (b): "rock scrambler", Barbary monkey (before breakfast)

bu inighi (b): killer

bu l-khair (b): "possessor of the good", boar (before breakfast)

bu shfar (b): flintlock rifle

burj (a): watch-tower

dahir (ẓahir) (a): sultanic decree

dar (a): house

dar l-qbila (a): "house of the tribe", storehouse and guest-room in Nsrat, with (b) cognate tigemmi n-l-jma't

dbiha (dbiḥa) (a): sacrifice

dhimmi (a): non-Muslim subject in Muslim land

diya (a): bloodwealth

diyit (b): bloodwealth

drawa (sing. drawi) (a): Haratin

duro hasani (ḥasani) (a): coinage minted in the reign of Ḥasan I (1873-1894)

fal (a): bad luck

(l-) fal imallul (b): "white luck", good luck

fatiha (fatiḥa) or surat al-fatiha (fatiḥa) (a): opening chapter of the Qur'an

fittan (a): agitator, provocateur

fqih (pl. fqaha) (a) (b): Qur'anic school teacher

ghafr (a): toll on camels

ghnima (a): spoils, booty

(l-)ghnimt (b): spoils, booty

(l-)girra (neologism from French guerre) (a): war

(l-)hna (a) (b): peace, truce

habus (ḥabus) (a): pious foundation, religious endowment

haguz (ḥaguz) (a): non-canonical New Year feast based on agricultural Julian calendar

hajj (ḥajj) (a): pilgrimage to Mecca

Hajj (Ḥajj) (a): title prefixed to name of anyone who has made the Mecca pilgrimage

hakim (ḥakim) as-sadad (a): court judge of penal or criminal law in Independent Morocco

halal (ḥalal) (a): licit, legitimate

haram (ḥaram) (a): illicit, illegitimate

harka (ḥarka) (a): war party

hazzan (ḥazzan) (a): rabbi

(l-)hirz (ḥirz) (a): charm, amulet worn by women

hrar (ḥrar, sing. ḥurr) (a): freedmen

hurm (ḥurm) (a): sanctuary, inviolable site

hurma (ḥurma) (a): inviolability

igharm (b): fortified village or clan community, or fortified dwelling within it; elsewhere, collective storehouse

ighf n-usugwas (b): "head of the year", first day of New Year, by Julian calendar

ighs (b): "bone", agnatic lineage or sublineage

ighs akhatar (b): large lineage or sublineage

ighs amzzan (b): small lineage or sublineage

igzdu (b): camping unit of over seven tents

ikhataren (sing. akhatar) (b): notables

ikhttan (b): circumcision

ilif (b): boar, pig

Imazighen (sing. Amazigh) (b): Berbers who speak Tamazight. including the Ait 'Atta

imdran (imḍran) (b): cemetery

imhadan (imḥadan) n-s-suq (b): market guardians

imishkan (sing. imishki) (b): individuals who have lost their tribal rights and who are legally dead

imkurar or imkuraren (b): sorcery

imluqten (imluqten) (b): people or groups of spurious ancestry who rely on principles of toponymy or contiguity, rather than on genealogy, for group membership

imqqranen or imuqqrann (b): big men, notables (cf. ikhataren)

imyisaten (sing. amyisa) (b): agnates

imzwagen (sing. amzwug) (b): agnates of murderer in exile

inighi (b): murdered man (cf. bu inighi)

inigi or iniyi (pl. inigan or iniyan) (b): witness

inmura (sing. u-tmurt) (b): variant of ait tmurt (cf. above)

iqatta'n n-ibriden (iqaṭṭa'n n-ibriden, sing. aqaṭṭa' n-ubrid) (b): "road cutter", bandit, highwayman

iqibliyen (sing. aqibli) (b): southerners, southern Ait 'Aṭṭa clans

irahhalen (irahhalen, sing. arahhal) (b): transhumants

Irifiyen (b) (c) (d): Rifians

Ishilhayen (Ishilḥayen) (b) (c) (d): "Sūsi-s", Berbers from Western Atlas and Sus

isli (b): bridegroom

ismakh (pl. isimkhan) (b): black, and especially black slave

isnain (sing. asnai) (b): young men in bridal party who help lead bride to groom's house

istinaf (a): court

istinaf (b): Ait 'Aṭṭa supreme court

itahal (b): he is married (f. titahal she is married)

iyidi or igdi (b): dog

iyma or igma (pl. aitma) (b): brother, agnate

(l-)izar (a) (b): women's wrap-around sheet

izirf (b): Berber customary law

i'ammin (sing. a'ammi) (b): illiterates, ordinary tribesmen

(l-)jama' (a) (b): mosque

(l-)jama' n-l-khutbat (khutbat) (b): Friday congregational mosque

jamur (a): spire with three copper bells atop minaret of urban mosque

jihad (a): "striving, effort", holy war

jma'a (a): council

jnun (a): jinns, invisible malevolent sprites

(l-)khair (a): "the good", desire for peace and good relations

khams khmas n-Ait 'Atta (Ait 'Aṭṭa) (b): the "five fifths" of the Ait 'Atta

khawa (a) brotherhood, agnation

khums (pl. khmas) (a) (b): one-fifth; "fifth", the maximum socio-political unit

kswa (a): cloth covering catafalque inside saint's shrine

kummya (a): dagger

liff (pl. lfuf) (a) (b) (c) (d): faction, alliance

makhzan (a) (b): central government of Morocco

mal n-l-jama' (b): property belonging to a mosque

(l-)masakin (b): the poor

ma'ruf (a) (b): three-day marriage feast

mhamya (mhamya) (a): faction, alliance, coalition between tribes or clans of a tribe

millah (millah)(a): Jewish quarter or settlement

mishwi (a): lamb or mutton roasted whole

mitqal (a): monetary unit (no longer current)

mizergan (b): tortoise

mkhazni (a): paramilitary soldier

mniha (mniḥa) (a): contractual farming-out of camel herds to associates by Rgaybat nomads

mqaddim (a): headman of local community

mrabit (mrabiṭ) (a): holy man. not necessarily a sharif

mudarris (a): schoolteacher in local community

mujahid (a): fighter in holy war (cf. jihad)

Mulud or Milud (a): Prophet's birthday, canonical feast

mush (b): cat

musim (a): annual pilgrimage-cum-fair held at shrine of important saint (cf. agdud)

nuba (a): turn of irrigation water or of providing meal for fqih

nzul (a): fine among qsur dwellers in which guilty party had to feed assembled jma'a

qabila (also written as qbila) (a): tribe

qadi (qaḍi) (a): religious (shari'a) judge

qaid (a) (b): formerly tribal leader, after 1956 rural administrator

qanun (a) (b): customary law document

qbala (sing. qibli) (a): southerners (cf. iqibliyen)

qsar (qṣar, pl. qṣur) (a): fortified village or local community consisting of variable number of several-storied mud-and-stone dwellings (cf. igharm)

qta (pl. qtati, properly qṭa', "out) (a): common land of qsar

qubba (a): cupola of shrine or saint's tomb

rassama (sing. rassam) (a): guardians, in the Ktawa, of plots of land not their own

ra'aya (a): protection, particularly of Haratin, by Ait 'Atta

ra'yan (sing. ra'i) (a): "shepherd, guard"; Ait 'Atta protectors of Haratin

riyal (a) (b): coin no longer current. equivalent to duro

sadad (a): penal law court, court of first instance

ṣaff (ṣaff, pl. ṣfuf) (a): league, alliance-group (cf. liff, mhamya)

salih (ṣalih) (a) (b): saint's shrine

sasbu (neologism from French "Chassepot") (a) (b): French model 1874 Gras single-shot rifle

s-sbah (ṣ-ṣbah) n-Allah or s-sbah khf-Rbbi (b): " the morning is God's", phrase uttered by a Berber if he should see a Jew or a black before breakfast

sbu' (b): naming feast for child seven days after birth

sdaq (ṣdaq) (a): bridewealth, non-existent among Ait 'Atta

shahada (a): Islamic profession of faith

shahid (pl. shuhada) (a): martyr, fighter in holy war, (cf. mujahid)

shaikh (pl. shiyukh) (a): clan head, head of local community

shaikh l-kbir (a): president of uper-level assembly in qsar Nsrat (b: amghar akhatar or amghar amqqran)

shaikh l-'amma (a): president of lower-level assembly in qsar Nsrat (b: amghar n-l-'ammt)

sharif (pl. shurfa) (a) (b): descendant of Prophet Muhammad and hence member of holy lineage

shari'a (a): Islamic law

shfa'a (a): preemption (b): tashfa't: priority rights of agnates over land and women

shubbak r-rasul (a): " handclasp of the Prophet", ritual handclasp when two individuals swear a covenant (cf. 'ahd)

siba (a) (b): condition of dissidence prior to Protectorate, area outside sultanic control

sib'atu rijal (a): seven patron saints

Sidi (a) (b): "my lord", term of address for any saint, prefixed to his name, and term by which a Jew

mitqal (a): monetary unit (no longer current)

mizergan (b): tortoise

mkhazni (a): paramilitary soldier

mniha (mniḥa) (a): contractual farming-out of camel herds to associates by Rgaybat nomads

mqaddim (a): headman of local community

mrabit (mrabiṭ) (a): holy man. not necessarily a sharif

mudarris (a): schoolteacher in local community

mujahid (a): fighter in holy war (cf. jihad)

Mulud or Milud (a): Prophet's birthday, canonical feast

mush (b): cat

musim (a): annual pilgrimage-cum-fair held at shrine of important saint (cf. agdud)

nuba (a): turn of irrigation water or of providing meal for fqih

nzul (a): fine among qsur dwellers in which guilty party had to feed assembled jma'a

qabila (also written as qbila) (a): tribe

qadi (qaḍi) (a): religious (shari'a) judge

qaid (a) (b): formerly tribal leader, after 1956 rural administrator

qanun (a) (b): customary law document

qbala (sing. qibli) (a): southerners (cf. iqibliyen)

qsar (qṣar, pl. qṣur) (a): fortified village or local community consisting of variable number of several-storied mud-and-stone dwellings (cf. igharm)

qta (pl. qtati, properly qṭa', "out) (a): common land of qsar

qubba (a): cupola of shrine or saint's tomb

rassama (sing. rassam) (a): guardians, in the Ktawa, of plots of land not their own

ra'aya (a): protection, particularly of Haratin, by Ait 'Atta

ra'yan (sing. ra'i) (a): "shepherd, guard"; Ait 'Atta protectors of Haratin

riyal (a) (b): coin no longer current. equivalent to duro

sadad (a): penal law court, court of first instance

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Sidi (a) (b): "my lord", term of address for any saint, prefixed to his name, and term by which a Jew

or a black had to address an w-'Atta

sirwal (a): baggy Moroccan trousers

suhur (suḥur) (a): sorcery

sulh (ṣulḥ) (a) (b): truce

suq (a) (b): market

swifa (neologism from French suivant, "following") (a) (b): turn of irrigation water

tabakshiut (b): short wool turban worn by men in pre-Protectorate times, also acted as rifle scabbard

tabuqst (b): distinctive triangular headdress worn by Ait 'Atta women

tabut (a): catafalque inside shrine of important saint

tada (b): lifelong cross-clan or cross-tribal sponsorship

tafargant (b): milk or foster kinship

tafrawt (b): sacred area (a: tafrawa; cf. hurm)

tagallit (pl. tigulla) (b): collective oath - tigulla ggant izuwran n-l-qa'ida, "oaths are the roots of custom"

taggurt (b): unit of irrigated land

taghurit (pl. tighuratin) (b): ululation by women

tagulla (b): people who do not fight or make war; hence, Haratin

tahanut (taḥanut) (b): individual cubicle for grain storage in collective storehouse

tahargit (taḥargit) (b): sorceress

taisa (b): protection given by lay tribesmen to shurfa and mrabtin, and involving sacrifice

taiymat or taimat (b): brotherhood, agnation

tajin (ṭajin) (a) (b): earthenware container as well as the meat and vegetable dish inside it

takat or tashat (b): hearth, nuclear family

takhamt (b): tent, transhumant nuclear family

talaq (ṭalaq) th-thalith (a): three-time, final, divorce

Talb (Ṭalb) 'Ali (b): fox (before breakfast)

tamaddit (b): bloodfeud, vengeance

tamghra (b): marriage ritual

tamghra n-w-ushshn (b): "marriage of the jackal", rainbow

tamsirt (b): place in mosque or cemetery where body is taken immediately before burial

tamttut (pl. tiutmin) (b): woman, wife

taqbilt (b): clan, subclan

tarahhalt (tarahḥalt) (b): transhumance; woman who transhumes

tariqa (ṭariqa) (a): Muslim religious order

tartib (a): non-Qur'anic tax levied in Morocco 1901-1961

tarugwa (b): irrigation ditch

tarwait or tarwasht (b): hot porridge

tasarut (b): key; shroud needle (before breakfast)

tatsa'it (b): French model 1886 Lebel magazine rifle

tazallit (b): prayer

tazttat (tazṭṭat) (b): temporary protection paid by traveller - cf. also amzttid and mzattat

ta'aqqit (pl. ti'aqqidin) (b): lay judge, specialist in customary law, member of Ait 'Atta supreme court

ta'ashurt (b): 'Ashura, calendrical Islamic feast on 10 Muharram

tbarid (b): written charm against bullets

tigharsi (b): sacrifice

tigmmi or tigemmi (b): house without tower

timilliwin (b): "white things", good things that happen in a good year

timingas (b): one-day marriage feast held by poor people

timit (b): navel, umbilical cord

tislit (b): bride

tislit n-w-ushshn (b): "bride of the jackal", rainbow

tismi (b): special wooden needle used for sewing shrouds

tutra (b): small gift in kind given by groom's kin to bride's kin at marriage

tuzzalt (b): curved dagger

u- (pl. ait) (b): person (see ait); ut- (pl. ist); person (f.) (cf. ait)

u-tikhsi (b): "he of the sheep", man changing his co-juring group or naturalized in a new lineage, clan or tribe

ut-idammen (b): "daughter of blood","she of blood", midwife

udad (b): Barbary sheep, mouflon (ammotragus lervia)

udai (b): Jew

(l-)udin (a): "ear", nominal tax substituted for tartib in 1961

(l-)ukfen (b): shroud

ukmid (b): Jew (before breakfast)

umma (a): the Islamic community

ushkid (b): grass given to animals as fodder

ushshn (b): jackal

wali Allah (a) (b): saint of impeccable pedigree and baraka

zakah (a): Qur'anic tax, on livestock

zattata (zaṭṭaṭa) (a): temporary protection paid by traveller - see also amzttid, mzattat and tazttat

zawiya (a): religious lodge or centre for order

zina (a) (b): adultery

ziyara (a): donation at saint's tomb/shrine

'abra (a) (b): unit of measure for grain (12 kg)

(l-)ada (a) (b): donation at saint's tomb (see ziyara)

(l-)'adawt (b): hatred, vendetta (a'adaw: enemy)

'adl (pl. 'adul) (a): Muslim notary public, assistant to qadi

(l-)'ahd or 'ahd (a) (b): covenant

'Aid Tafaska (b): 'Aid l-Kbir (a), major Islamic feast in last month of Muslim year

'Aid Amzzan (b): 'Aid s-Sghir (ṣ-Ṣghir) (a), major Islamic feast at end of Ramadan fast

(l-)'alam (a) (b): flag of saint; Ait 'Atta supertribal battle flag

'Ansra ('Anṣra) (a): summer solstice festival (b: l-'Anṣart)

(l-)'ar or 'ar (a) (b): supernatural shame compulsion, coercion or conditional curse (see ait l-'ar)

'ashur (a): Qur'anic tithe, tax on grains

1 'ATTALAND AND THE AIT 'ATTA: A TRANSHUMANT SEGMENTARY SOCIETY

1.1 Introduction

This study is a successor to an earlier work (1) dealing with the political organisation of the Ait 'Atta, which it is designed to complement. As a result, this chapter is largely given over to a review of the earlier book and deals with the physical environment in which the Ait 'Atta live, their social organisation and the nature of their transhumance.

1.2 The Ait 'Atta and their Physical Environment

The Ait 'Atta, the largest tribal group in south-central Morocco numbering some 125,000 to 135,000 in 1960, are territorially distributed in discontinuous clusters over the three provinces of Bni Mallal, Warzazat (official spelling Ouarzazate) and Qsar s-Suq (official spelling - Ksar as-Souk). They reveal their identity as part of a formerly marginal and dissident tribal minority and their linguistic conservatism by speaking, almost exclusively Tamazight, the Berber language of the Middle and Central High Atlas and of the Saghru-Ugnat range, as well as of pre-Saharan oases to the south. Although the national language of Morocco is Arabic, in the 1960s few Ait 'Atta knew any Arabic and almost none knew any French.

The Ait 'Atta have always shown an extreme degree of marginalism not only geographically and linguistically, but also politically in terms of their polar relations with the makhzan, the central government of the Moroccan Sultan. This marginalism is manifested in many ways: for the conservatism of the Ait 'Atta is cultural and structural as well as linguistic. Even in the 1960s, the Ait 'Atta through sheep transhumance, a segmentary lineage system which, at its lower levels, was still in good working order, and a tribal capital, at Igharm Amazdar in the Saghru mountain range, which acted as a repository of tribal customary law and the site for the annual election of top chiefs, still maintained a degree of unity and cohesion which were quite

unparalleled among any of their neighbours.

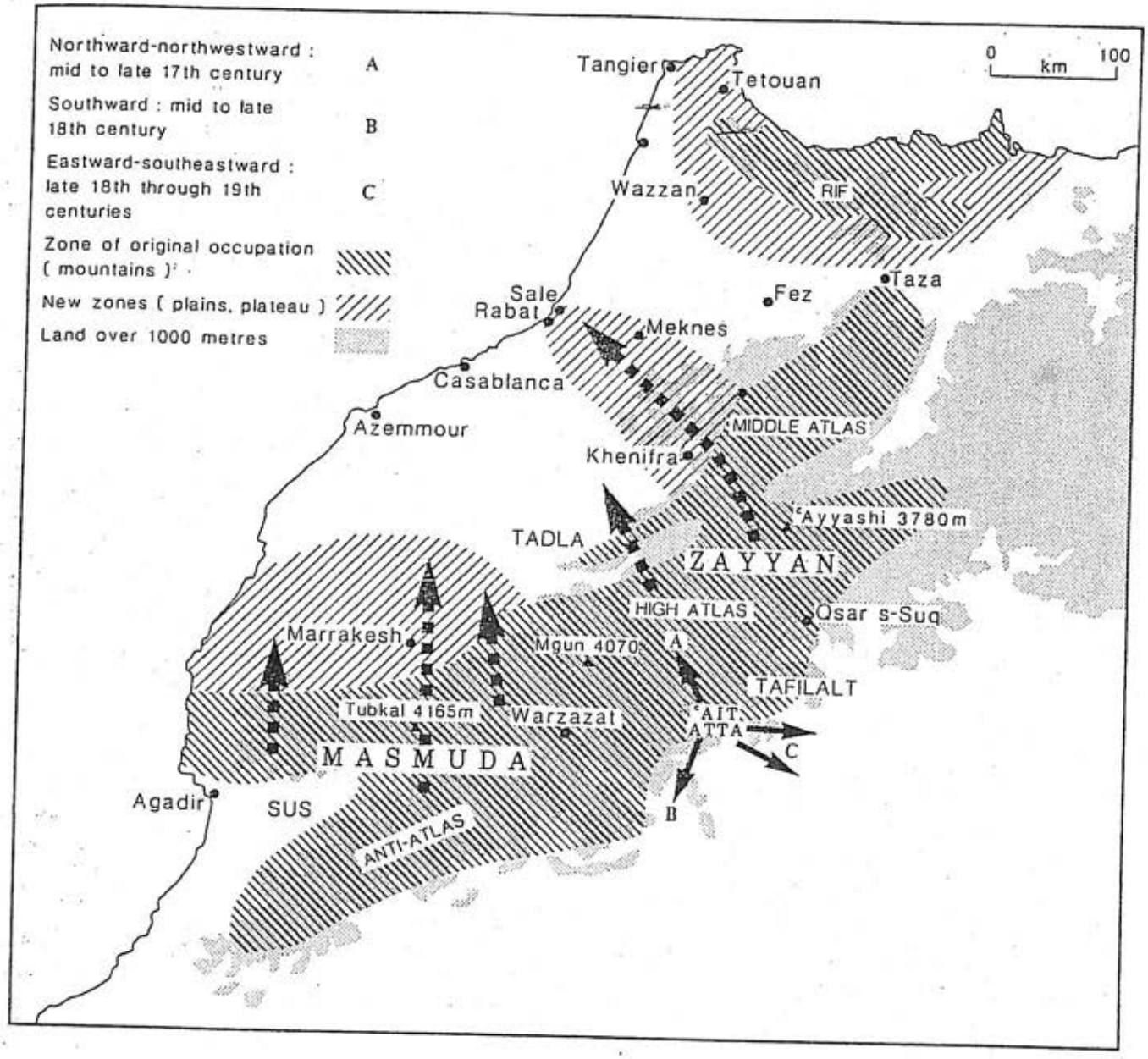
A major result of this unity amongst the Ait 'Atta was historically their aggressive outward expansion in all directions from the Saghru. Their large numbers, their transhumant pastoralism, their ability to act corporately, facilitated both through their political structure and their customary law, their excellence in warfare, were all sources of great pride to the Ait 'Atta. They remained unconquered by central authority until the French pacification, which was achieved only after bitter fighting in the Saghru and Central High Atlas fighting, in 1933.

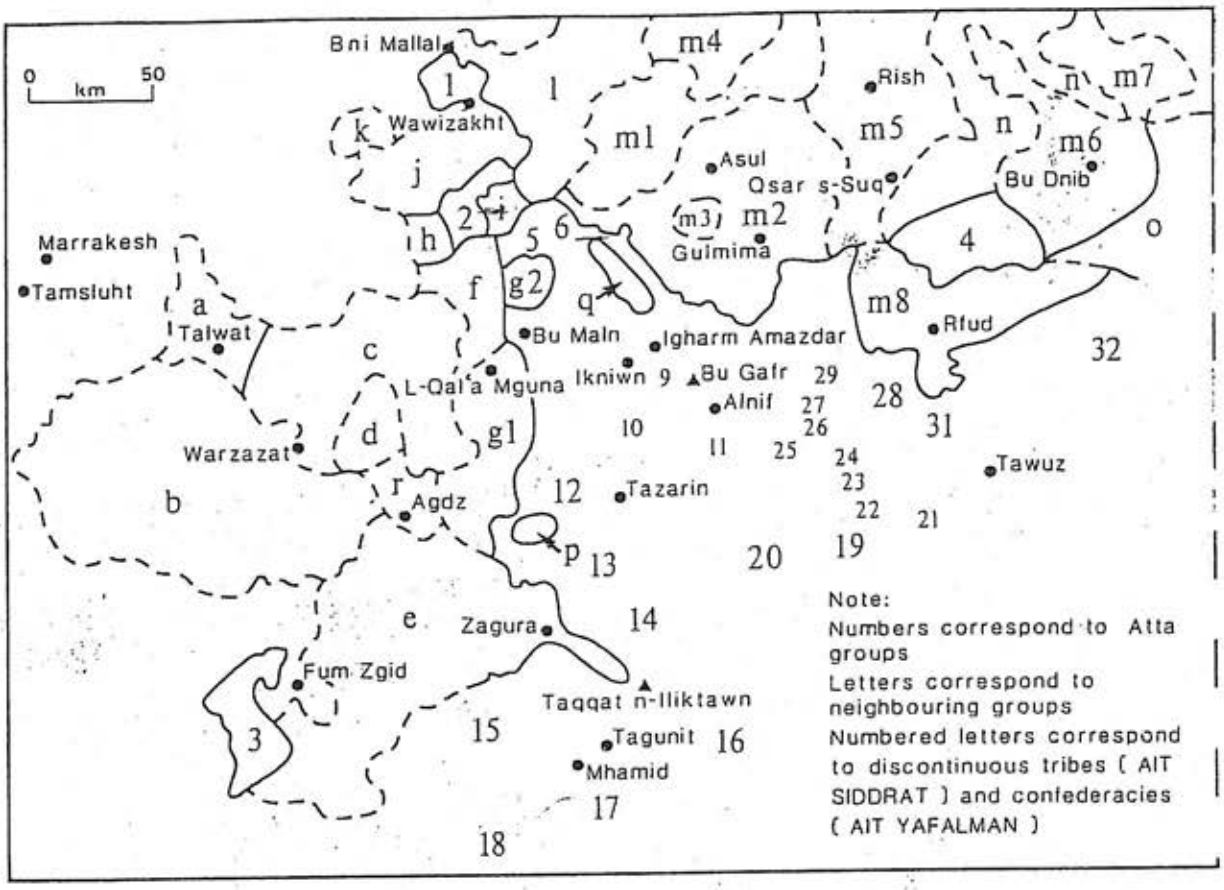
The Jbil Saghru, the mountain massif of the Saghru, forms the core of Ait 'Atta territory, vast by comparison with tribal territories elsewhere in Morocco, at an estimated 50,000 to 55,000 square kilometres. Its vastness is only one feature - variation in landscape is another, and population discontinuity is a third, for the Ait 'Atta are not its sole inhabitants although they are unquestionably the dominant group within it.

'Attaland starts to the north of the Awjja n-Uzurki (Mt. Azurki), which has very special associations not only for the Ait 'Atta but for all their neighbours. From Azurki, 'Attaland extends southeast, across the Tizi Mqqurn Pass, over which the southern 'Atta transhumants clamber to reach the Central Atlas, and down to the Dadss river valley. From here it extends south, across the Saghru range, and down to the pre-Saharan date palm oases of the Dra and Tafilalt. It ends at the dune desert at Mhamid and the thick flat sedimentary strata of the hammada of the Dra, to the south of the Dra valley oases. Further east, south of the Tafilalt, it reaches to beyond Tawuz, with the Kamkam plateaus and the hammadas of the Dawra and the Gir.

The variation, not only in geology and landscape but in climatic and ecological conditions, is enormous. Geologically, most of the Central High Atlas consists of calcareous Ordovician and Jurassic pliations while the earlier Saghru is largely pre-Cambrian granite. In terms of vegetation, the Ait 'Atta themselves say knowingly that their territory runs the gamut from the holly oak to the date palm: from Tawkst, on the borders of the Middle and Central Atlas, in the northwest, down to Tawuz, in full desert, in the southeast. This same observation also nicely orients the northwest-southeast axis of the bulk of 'Attaland, although for the Ait 'Atta the reverse is more accurate since their own historical migrations run "From date palm to holly oak, from Tawuz to Tawkst". But it is only on the northern side of the Central Atlas watershed that vegetation is at all abundant; the southern slope of the Atlas is strikingly denuded and barren.

As might be expected, the individual physical highlights of this vast area, of which the summit of Azurki and the Mqqurn Pass are the northerly landmarks, are also highly


Northward-northwestward : mid to late 17th century
A
Southward : mid to late 18th century
B
Eastward-southeastward : late 18th through 19th centuries
C
Zone of original occupation (mountains)
New zones (plains, plateau)
Land over 1000 metres
0 km 100
Tangier
Tetouan
Wazzan
RIF
Taza
Fez
Sale
Rabat
Meknes
Casablanca
Azemmour
MIDDLE ATLAS
Khenifra
'Ayyashi 3780m
TADLA
ZAYYAN
HIGH ATLAS
Qsar s-Suq
Marrakesh
Mgun 4070
A
TAFILALT
Tubkal 4165m
Warzazat
'AIT ATTA
C
MASMUDA
Agadir
SUS
B
ANTI-ATLAS



Ait 'Atta

1 Ait 'Atta n-Umalu (discontinuous)
2 Ait Bu Iknifen n-Tlmast (of Talmast: discontinuous)
3 Nsula (discontinuous)
4 Ait 'Atta n-ar-Rtbat (Ait Umnasf of Ait Unibgi, Ait Isful)
5 Ait Usikis (Ait Bu Iknifen, Ait Y'azza, Ait Unibgi)
6 Ait Msimrir (Ait Bu Iknifen)
7 Ait Bu Iknifen n-Imidar (Ait Wahlim)
8 Ait 'Atta n-Saghru (Ait Wahlim, Ait Y'azza, Ait Wallal, Ait Isful)
9-10 Ait Wahlim
11 Ait Y'azza
12 Ait 'Atta n-Nqub (Ait Unir)
13 Ait Unir
14 Ait Isful
15-16 Ait 'Alwan
17 Ait 'Alwan
18 'Arib
19 Ait 'Alwan
20 Ait Wahlim
21 Ait Khabbash (Ait Unibgi)
22 Ait Isful
23 Ait Y'azza
24 Ait Unibgi (Ait Umnasf)
25 Ait Wahlim
26 Ait Isful
27 Ait Unibgi (Ait Umnasf)
28 Ait Unibgi Ihatushen
29 Ait Isful
30 Ait Khalifa
31 Ait Khabbash (Ait Unibgi)
32 Ait Burk (with Ait Khabbash)

Neighbours

a Glawa (Igliwa)
b Ait Wawzgit
c Imghran
d Skura
e Ulad Yihya
f Imgunn
g Ait Siddrat:
g1 Plains Ait Siddrat
g2 Mountain Ait Siddrat
h Ait Bu Gimmaz
i Ihansalen
j Ait Massad
k Ait Attab
l Ait Sukhman

m Ait Yafalman:
m1 Ait Hadiddu
m2 Ait Murghad
m3 Ait Yihya of Kardus
m4 Ait Yihya of Tunfit
m5 Ait Izdig
m6 Ait Izdig of the Gir
m7 Ait 'Aisa Ba Hmar
m8 'Arab s-Subat
n Ait Saghrushshn
o Ulad n-Nasir
p Mrabtin of the D
q Ahl Tudgha
r Mzgita
s Ahl Dadss

varied. The heart of 'Attaland, and the point from which the Ait 'Atta expanded, is the craggy, jagged and almost totally treeless massif of the Saghru, the highest peak of which, Amalu n-Mansur, forms a massive wall dominating the post of Ikniwn, while about 30 kms to the east is the grim escarpment and massif of Bu Gafr, a chaotic wilderness of rock which acted as the final point of defence for the Ait 'Atta resistants to French 'pacification' in 1933; east of the Saghru is the smaller Ugnat massif, which stretches further east to the Tafilalt plain.

But the Ait 'Atta fortress of the Saghru is not completely inaccessible and has its approaches both from north and south. For 'Attaland is bounded by a network of Saharan river systems - the Dra river (Asif n-Dra) to the west; the Dadss (Asif n-Dadss) to the northwest; the Tudgha (Asif n-Tadghut) and the Ghris (Asif n-l-Ghris) to the northeast; and by the Ziz (Asif n-Ziz) to the east. The Dra, the Ghris and the Ziz all receive their water from the western central and eastern High Atlas, through their tributaries, the Dadss for the Dra, and the Tudgha and Farkla for the Ghris. Within the Saghru itself there are two lesser rivers, the Ragg and the Tazarin. Of these rivers, only the Dra eventually reaches the Atlantic, and much of its westbound course through the desert is underground. The oases of the Middle Dadss (such as Bu Maln) and the Middle Dra (such as Agdz and Zagura) and Lower Dra (such as Tagunit and the Ktawa, and Mhamid) really form a single oasis complex, those of the Tudgha (typified by Tinghir) another, those of the Ghris (such as Gulmina and Tinjdad) a third, and those of the Ziz (such as Qsar s-Suq and, to the south, Tafilalt), a fourth.

The climate is dry and continental, and although not unhealthy, it is subject to abrupt changes in temperature. In winter, freezing is frequent at night, though during the day temperatures may reach as much as 35°, while in mid-summer they may even reach 62° (2). The summer mean for 'Attaland as a whole, however, is not much over 30°, and perhaps nowhere except on Mt. Azurki does it go below 0° in midwinter. Rain is both rare and violent and in really hard winters there is snow even on the Amalu n-Mansur in the Saghru, while the whole Central Atlas is completely covered. Vegetation, as mentioned above runs the gamut from the date palm, of which there are at least seven varieties in the region, to the small holly oak perhaps Morocco's most characteristic tree. Two broad zones can nonetheless be distinguished - an arid lower one dominated by halfa grass and artemisia, between 1,400 and 2,000 metres, and a higher more forested one from 1,800 metres on up, with junipers and ash extending over considerable surfaces. There were also once cedars near Tizi n-Ilisi Pass in the Central Atlas, north of Azurki and hard by Awjja n-U'yuwi, at an altitude of 3,000 metres, but it is

today a ghost forest, ravaged either by extreme cold or by drought. The Ait 'Atta say that the trees died when the Prophet Muhammad did.

As for fauna, panthers and boar are both still found and shot in the forest-covered regions of the Central Atlas, though the latter, given the Muslim taboo, are of course not eaten. The mouflon or Barbary sheep, known locally as udad, is to be found all over the peaks of both the Atlas and the Saghru, and its skin and flesh are prized. Further south, in the desert, there are at least two kinds of gazelle and occasional hyenas in the Southwestern fringes, where ingredients from them are much prized by women for purposes of sorcery; while jackals and foxes skulk through the region at large. Large birds of prey include several varieties of eagles and two types of vultures, while ravens are common in the mountains. The worst of the snakes is the horned viper, occasionally found on the edges of the desert to the south, while locusts can create havoc with the harvest.

It is against this background of the variation in 'Attaland of elevation, climate and vegetation, all of which also produce a considerable variation and disparity in resources, that the Ait 'Atta live. Their economic answer to this disparity, one that still applies in large measure today, is sheep transhumance.

1.3 Ait 'Atta socio-political organsiation and customary law

Before considering the nature of Ait 'Atta transhumance, other aspects of Ait 'Atta society must be considered. For instance, critical to an understanding of the Ait 'Atta way of life is a knowledge of their socio-political structures and their unique system of customary law. These were both discussed in detail in my earlier book on the Ait 'Atta, and in two previous articles (3). What follows is therefore only a summary.

1.3.1 Socio-political structures: the Transhumant and Historical argument

In order to understand the conceptualisation that the Ait 'Atta have their own social structure, we must use as a point of departure their unanimous affirmation that they are descended from a single common ancestor, a Berber tribesman named Dadda (Grandfather) 'Atta, whose simple tomb of mud and stone, somewhat dilapidated today, is located in the gorge of the Taqqat n-Iliktawen, north of Tagunit and the Ktawa oasis, on the edge of the upper Dra valley. His descendants, generally speaking, maintain that Dadda 'Atta was born in the Saghru and was killed

in battle against a group of Northwestern Saharan Arabs. From this comes the sobriquet "Ait 'Atta of the Sahara" so often found in French literature, a designation which is erroneous and which it would be more appropriate to replace with "Ait 'Atta of the Saghru". Furthermore, they are not a confederacy as French sources suggest, but a supertribe, a fact which will be given due attention below.

Dadda 'Atta and his epoch can be tentatively placed in the middle of the sixteenth century, as a result of his presumed association with the two igurramen ("saints") who were to become the major and minor saints of the Ait 'Atta, Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain and Sidi Sa'id Ahansal. The former commands the allegiance of the great majority of the Ait 'Atta, namely those located to the south and east of Bu Maln in the Dadss Valley, and every year in February and March they take their annual offering (ziyara) to his descendants, located far to the west at Tamsluht near Marrakesh, in the zawiya beside his tomb. The latter retains the allegiance of the Ait 'Atta minority north of Bu Maln, who take, in turn, their own ziyara to his descendants at Zawiya Ahansal in the Central High Atlas.

Most of the Ait 'Atta were - and many still are - transhumants, and their initial expansion toward the north was certainly linked to the search for pasturage for their sheep. On the other hand, their later deployment toward the oases of the Dra to the south and even toward the Tafilalt to the east owed more to the solicitations of the Haratin (long-established black populations in the oases, working as peaceful date-palm cultivators and largely lacking in tribal organisation), who were looking for protection against the incursions of other tribes, a protection which placed them in a state of clientage vis-a-vis their new 'Atta patrons.

Transhumance, as will become clear, implies a permanent residence and a seasonal agricultural activity - generally in winter in the valley bottoms - and at the same time two well defined annual movements: an ascent toward an Alpine pasturage (the Central High Atlas) in spring to pasture the sheep, while the transhumant shepherds live in wool and goat hair tents; and a return to the valleys in the autumn before the rains and snows begin. Even if the transhumance of the Ait Slillu of Nqub or the Ilimshan or of any of the six southern groups of the Ait Bu Iknifen, may follow a long range trajectory of two hundred kilometres or more, this is by no means always the case. In all Ait 'Atta communities, however, it is an almost general rule that those who transhume are always the same individuals each year, and those who stay at home are likewise permanently sedentarised. Nonetheless, the idea of transhumance is still buried deep in Ait 'Atta concepts of communal life. In 1961 the amghar (chief) of the Ait 'Atta n-Usikis told me that he then 'transhumed' only as

far as the bureau or tribal administration post at Msimrir five kilometres to the north, and then only on Saturdays market day!

Historically the Ait 'Atta first of all moved north towar the Central Atlas in the middle of the sixteenth centur from the Saghru, from whence they say they fanned out as pastoral nomads going long distances. They only crosse the more moderate threshold from nomadism to transhumanc when they discovered the advantages of agriculture and of life in qsur or igharman - mud-stone granary house several stories high - from the Haratin and other inhabitants of the Dadss Valley to the north. Some legends justify both their interest in sheep transhumance, wit expansion north and south, and their traditional ties with their patron saints, Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain and Sidi Sa'id Ahansal, as well as with their descendants. Othe traditions point to the equally traditional hostility of the Ait 'Atta toward most of the neighbouring tribes, first in historical sequence toward the Ait Siddrat, and second and principally, toward the tribal confederacy of the Ait Yafalman. Here particular emphasis is given to one of i member tribes, the Ait Murghad, who are held to ha taken the initiative in the formation of this confederacy about 1645 AD, precisely in order to hold Ait 'At expansion. The initiative was successful and the A Yafalman stopped 'Atta progression toward the north. Elsewhere, however, expansion continued apace.

Another image that the Ait 'Atta project about the homeland and point of origin is worth recalling. They compare themselves to a horse or mule tied to the Saghr by a long rope, for as far as they may wander to graze, their home territory will always pull them back. At a much later period, they consolidated the Saghru as the fief by creating within it an inviolable zone, the Tafrawt n-Ait 'Atta, which contains the community that was to become their tribal capital and the seat of their Supre Court of Appeal, Igharm Amazdar. Within the limits of this zone of 29 square kilometres, no gunshots were allowed to be fired and even attempted murder was sanctioned eith by prohibitively heavy fines or by permanent exile. The establishment of the capital at Igharm Amazdar w the cornerstone of the consolidation of Ait 'Atta proli - eration and expansion through conquest. There are at least five legends which shed light on these themes a which are recounted in the next chapter.

The expansion of the Ait 'Atta is almost a seventeenth century version, on a much smaller and less disciplin scale, of that of the German Wehrmacht in Europe duri World War II; and the invaders were often regarded in the same light by the local population. There are vario reasons why this expansion was not pushed very far towa the west and in any case, the northward push toward the

Central Atlas, was certainly the initial one. Movements south of the Saghru did not begin in earnest before 1800. The Drang nach Osten toward the Tafilalt the final stage in this expansion was recorded by an eye-witness, Dr Linarès, the French physician to the Moroccan Sultan Mulay al-Hasan I, who accompanied him on his last expedition to the region in 1893-94 (4). This eastward expansion caused great consternation to the shurfa of the region and to the Ait Yafalman, probably because both groups benefited tacitly from the favours and the support of the Makhzan, the central government. Indeed, the expansion of the Ait Khabbash around Tawuz, in the southeast, was only halted in 1899 by the French occupation of southwestern Algeria and the oasis of Tuwat. From then on, Ait Khabbash resistance to France never wavered right up to 1934. Thus when the French forces in Algeria penetrated into South-eastern Morocco they clashed straight away with the Ait 'Atta. The political development of the latter had still not quite reached its peak, but as we will see, it nonetheless revealed a remarkable degree of internal cohesion.

The extent of this cohesion can best be appreciated retrospectively. The year 1890 signalled the effective if not official inauguration of the community of Igharm Amazdar, in the Saghru, as the supertribal capital of the Ait 'Atta and it is the implications of this event which concern us here. In this connection, and in view of what has been described above, it is clear that the received wisdom which has for so long reduced French comments on the Ait 'Atta to mere preconceptions should be abandoned. The Ait 'Atta are not a 'confederacy', but a supertribe and their point of origin is not, as has been commonly and vaguely stated, the Sahara, but the Saghru (5). This is the view taken by the Ait 'Atta themselves, and from a structural standpoint it makes more sense.

1.3.2 Socio-political structures: the structural argument

The structural argument may be summed up as follows. All the Ait 'Atta claim agnatic descent through the patriline, from Dadda 'Atta, as shown by the legend of his forty grandsons. However, they are nonetheless incapable of retracing their genealogy step by step, back to him. We may thus speak of all Ait 'Atta sections, groups or associations of groups, posterior to Dadda 'Atta - all of which claim descent from him - as clans or subclans (taqbilt, pl. tiqbilin), since authentically established, step-by-step genealogical descent is not found above the level of the Ait 'Atta patrilineages (ighs, pl. ighsan), each some five generations in depth - into which these clans or subclans are subsegmented - in conformity with the theory

and practice of segmentary systems.

Nonetheless, with the Ait 'Atta as with certain other Moroccan tribes, when clans have proliferated to an excessive degree, a well-defined superordinate organising principle intervened. This principle applied structurally to the segmentary level just below the ceiling level of the supertribe, thus making it an aggregate and permitted and facilitated the concept of the Ait 'Atta as a unit. This principle is known in Moroccan Arabic as **khams khmas** or 'five-fifths' - and here as **khams khmas n-Ait 'Atta** (the "five-fifths" of the Ait 'Atta) (6). In four different and well-authenticated cases (the Aith Waryaghar of the Central Rif, the Ait 'Atta themselves, the Dukkala of the Atlantic Coastal Plain and the Dawi Mani' of the southeastern Moroccan-Algerian border) (7), this structure and its subjacent ideology are applied in a very clear manner to functions which in each case are both clearly defined and widely different from each other. Among the Ait 'Atta the "five-fifths" provided the top chief, **amghar n-ufilla**, of the supertribe who was, theoretically, elected each year in spring before the beginning of the summer transhumance at a place called Admam, near Igharm Amazdar, and within the Tafrawt n-Ait 'Atta in the Saghru. This election took place according to a principle which has been defined as 'rotation and complementarity', one which has been found to have been operational in the political systems of the great majority of Berber tribes of the Central Atlas (8). It is an important structural diagnostic of the political systems of the transhumant Imazighen, as the Berbers of the Middle and Central High Atlas refer to themselves.

Grossly simplified, the idea which underlies the twin principles of rotation and complementarity is that if, in a given year, it was the turn of the **khums** or "fifth" of the Ait Wahlim, the assembled members of the other four "fifths" would choose and elect a candidate from this **khum**, while members of the **khums** itself would not participate in the election. This candidate would then become the **amghar n-ufilla** or top chief. The next year it was the turn of another **khums** while the one which had just furnished the chief now found itself among the electors; and the third year it was the turn of a third **khums**, and so on. The same procedure was reflected and repeated at lower levels of segmentation - at the level of the local community, the clans which it comprised elected their own clan or lan chief (**amghar n-tmazirt**) in exactly the same way. The designation of these local chiefs - who in turn appointed the headman (**bab n-umur**, pl. **idbab n-imuren**) of their own constituent lineages - was in theory ratified by the top chief in the Saghru.

The period when elections occurred was not fixed but generally took place in the spring. The ritual which surrounded it is interesting: the candidates from the **khum**

which was to provide the chief sat in a circle while the members of the other four "fifths" assembled somewhat apart from them in order to come to their decision. Once they reached it, they went around the circle, and when they spotted the successful candidate, they yanked him to his feet. Then either the outgoing chief or an officiating agurram descended from the Ait Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain put a blade or tuft of grass in the folds of the turban of the newly elected chief so as to assure a propserous year. The agurram then gave him a bowl of milk, and when he started to drink, pushed his face into it so that the liquid spilled all over his beard and shirt. He then offered him dates. Finally, each man present received a little milk and a date in a local-level replica of the traditional offering of milk and dates in the national Moroccan ceremonial of welcome and hospitality. Similar elections occurred on at least one other key level below the khums, that of the localised clan community.

The basic idea was that each functioning group had its own image of authority and it was quite normal for one of these levels to be skipped or disregarded: chiefs were elected at a given segmentary level in order to function and serve on the level immediately above, while they themselves designated their own man two levels or more below: A single chief would have been quite inadequate for a whole khums, for example, given the fact of its territorial dispersion. Given the merry-go-round of annual election, power could only be fragile and any chief who tried to abuse it was forced out of office before his year was up. However, an amghar who had been a successful warrior - and the Ait 'Atta always place much stress on warlike virtues - might stay in office for several consecutive years.

Real power, however, remained in the hands of the council of "notables" the very egalitarian assembly of ajmu' members, each of whom had to have a profound knowledge of the izirf or the qa'ida n-Ait 'Atta - the customary law of the Ait 'Atta. There is no point here in discussing the implications of the infamous Berber Dahir of 1930, but it is clear that the Ait 'Atta in general showed deeper attachment to their customary law than any other Berber-speaking tribal group in Morocco. Fieldwork showed that this was evidently the case even though most informants were ambiguous over the key issue of whether or not daughters were allowed to inherit (according to the Shari'a, a daughter receives half the share of a son, while according to the less ambiguous formulas of the bulk of Berber customary law there are no such inheritance rights).

The procedural and jural basis of customary law is trial by collective oath (tagallit, pl. tigulla), the mode of proof par excellence, for tigulla ggant izuwran n-l-qa'ida - "oaths are the roots of custom". Until Independence in 1956, when the Berber Dahir was rescinded and customary law

ceased to be accepted, the basis of the oath resided in its collective character. Over the whole of the Central Atlas, a man accused of any crime - from the theft of a chicken or a sheep up to murder - had to swear on oath his innocence.

He had to do so with a variable number of co-jurors, as many of whom as possible had to be from his agnatic lineage, at the tomb of a given Saint, or on a given day at a given hour, and in front of an anahkam or oath administrator. The latter was a neutral individual who was never the same man twice running, and was always a man chosen anew for each case. The choice of time and place for the oath were up to the plaintiff, and the numbers of co-jurors varied according to the gravity of the offence: normally five co-jurors (the accused and four of his agnates) were required for theft of small livestock, while the number went up to ten (the accused and nine agnates) for property matters and theft of larger livestock, and was then quadrupled to forty (the accused and thirty-nine agnates) for murder. With as many co-jurors as this, it was very rare that the accused could furnish them all on his own. Therefore, in order to fill his quota, he would sacrifice a sheep to the members of another and neighbouring lineage to come to his aid.

Was this procedure based on fear in the co-jurors' minds of a supernatural sanction if they did not help? Fear of perjury at oath was in any case the most effective arm of dissuasion, but other factors intervened as well. Thus, if any co-juror was missing at the crucial moment (barring valid excuses such as illness or being away on a journey), it was up to them as well as to the accused to pay the fine. The oath was by its very nature eminently public in character. If for example, as sometimes was required by the plaintiff, the spectators heckled the accused and his co-jurors in order to trip them up over the enunciation of the oath formula, the oath was then regarded as broken and the defendant had to pay. Two refinements of the system could now be invoked - an accusing oath, which carried the same weight as a proclamation of innocence or the opportunity for a man who felt resentment against his own lineage mates to have recourse to the services of another co-juring group simply by the sacrifice of a sheep to it without the apparent loss of any property rights in his lineage of origin, although he did forfeit water rights and his cubicle in the collective storehouse of his own group.

Muslim law does not recognise the existence of co-jurors at oath: only the accused himself may swear, on Friday, in the mosque and on the Qur'an. The notion of co-juror is rejected by the Shari'a which substitutes the concept of witness instead. At Independence, in any case, oaths were decollectivised, both in a de jure and a de facto

sense. This change was never endorsed by 'Assu u-Ba Slam, who after the end of Ait 'Atta resistance to the French at the Battle of Bu Gafr in 1933, remained as qaid of the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru until the end of the Protectorate and indeed until his death in 1960. He maintained that if a would-be thief broke into a house or in any case of illicit sexual relations, the guilty party or parties would make very sure that there were no witnesses. How then, in such cases, could they be found? On the other hand, however, he argued that trial by collective oath constituted a guarantee of the defendant's innocence in the same way that reluctance to take oath would furnish proof of his guilt.

In fact, under the Protectorate, as before it, the expression of the recognition of the importance of customary law and of the collective oath had been the maintenance of the istinaf, the Supreme Court of Appeal at Igharm Amazdar. This was held in the open air until 1938, when a building was erected to house it. From this moment on, 'Assu u-Ba Slam was designated as a sort of dean and permanent magistrate. Not surprisingly then he was loath to admit that it was defunct, once the Protectorate had come to an end.

The procedure which was followed by the court, which was slightly modified by the French, is of very great interest. It was made up of six men, who were called variously inahkamen (sing. anahkam) or "oath administrators", ait l-haqq or "people of the truth", or ti'aqqidin (sing. ta'aqqit) or "guardians of custom". Usually they were chosen anew for each case from among the three principal Ait 'Atta clans resident at Igharm Amazdar, all of which were collectively known as the Ait 'Aisa n-Igharm Amazdar. There were two members from the Ait Zimru (one of the two sub-"fifths" of the khums of the Ait Wahlim), two from the Ait Hassu (the other sub-"fifth" of the Ait Wahlim khums), and two from the Ait Y'azza (of the khums of the Ait 'Aisa Mzin). The court at Igharm Amazdar and its composition were a direct reflection of the fact that it had been expressly created to resolve the differences and disputes occurring over the whole length and breadth of 'Attaland, disputes which could not be settled at the level of the local community.

Such a system, at least under the Protectorate, was simply a matter of majority rule, and after the courthouse was built, it functioned behind closed doors. If the vote of the six inahkamen was split three against three, the intervention of the amghar n-tmazirt could be solicited in order to tip the balance and thus give the necessary majority of one. More often, however, recourse was had to a more complicated but more logical system: if the votes of the six men were split down the middle, another group of six was called in. Then, once again, if the vote continued to be equally split, a third group of six was convoked.

Finally, if the full complement of eighteen votes should still be nine against nine, the vote of the clan or land chief was then solicited to ensure a verdict.

It is evident that these men had to know their customary law by heart. This was certainly the case for all members of the three clans of the Ait 'Aisa n-Igharm Amazdar, for any one of them was liable to be chosen at any time to act as anahkam in any particular case. It was through them, through the court in which they deliberated, through the mere existence of Igharm Amazdar and its role as tribal capital, through the segmentary system and its corollary, the election of chiefs according to the principles of rotation and complementarity, that the rationale of the concept of "five fifths" for the election of the top amghar was able to provide each year an excellent example of the political cohesion and the esprit de corps or the 'asabiya, to use ibn Khaldun's term, of the Ait 'Atta in action.

Yet this socio-political organisation must be seen within its demographic context, for both these factors, together with the over-riding nature of the environment, are closely bound into economic practices of the Ait 'Atta. The nature of transhumance and sedentary agriculture - both of which are practised by the Ait 'Atta - depend on the population available to practise them, as much as, today, they depend on the attitude and activities of the central government of Morocco.

1.4 The problems of Ait 'Atta Demography: A Statistical Exercise

Even with a detailed breakdown of the 1960 Moroccan census (9), educated guesswork is still very necessary for an estimate of the total Ait 'Atta population. The 1960 census makes no attempt to provide this, since it is couched in the non-tribal and essentially territorial idiom of provinces, circles, 'bureaux' and rural communes.

This formed part of the Moroccan government's attempt to do away not only with the concept of the tribe, but with that of the ethnic group as well.

Nevertheless the census data justify an estimate of the order of 100,000 to 150,000 and possibly of the order of 125,000 to 135,000. If these figures are reasonably accurate, then it is immediately apparent that Spillmann's overall figure in 1930 of 38,000 Ait 'Atta, including 10,000 Ait 'Atta specifically in the Saghru and its environs seems far too low (10). However, Spillmann's figure should also be considered in the context of his other 1930 estimate for the whole Dra-Tafilalt area:

Dra Valley:	107,000
Tafilalt:	40,000
'Attaland Proper (Saghru and environs)	10,000
Total:	157,000

Of this total 38,000 were considered to be Ait 'Atta, 28,000 in the Dra Valley and Tafilalt areas. Those remaining non-'Atta in the Dra Valley consisted of independent Haratin, tributary Haratin, Arabs of several different tribes (Ulad Yihya, Ruha, 'Arib, Bni Mhammad and Ghnanma in the Upper and Middle Dra, at any rate), Ait Siddrat (in the Upper Dra), Mrabtin and Shurfa, and Jews, while in the Tafilalt the ethnic mosaic was similarly complex, and included elements of the Ait Yafalman. But the really important point here is to establsh the population ratio of Ait 'Atta to the rest of the inhabitants of the region as a whole. This can be calculated as either 24.2 per cent or 19.05 per cent, depending on whether the 10,000 Ait 'Atta in the Saghru are included. From these two figures, a global average for 'Attaland at its largest extent of 21.62 per cent can be obtained.

Although Spillmann's figures certainly are on the low side for the 'Atta per se, they appear more reliable than the 1960 Moroccan census for the calculation of this percentage. According to the 1960 census, Ait 'Atta are found in no less than 17 bureaux in three Moroccan Provinces. If we take two of these provinces, the total population in those circles containing Ait 'Atta is as follows:

Qsar s-Suq Province:	111,295
Gulmina Circle:	61,551
Qsar s-Suq Circle:	41,474
Total:	214,320
Warzazat Province	
Bu Maln n-Dadss Circle:	85,655
Zagura Circle:	126,962
Total:	212,637
Overall Total:	426,957

By applying the 21.62 per cent figure to the 1960 figures the Ait 'Atta population for these two provinces turns out to be 92,306, which seems low since as twenty years earlier the total 'Atta population calculated from the tribally based

1939 Repértoire Alphabétique (11) was 78,896. This figure significantly, is twice Spillmann's estimate for a decade earlier.

However, if the 1960 census figures for the three relevant rural communes where Ait 'Atta are to be found in Bni Mallal Province (Ait Mhand, Wawizakht and Zawiya Ahansal), are included, giving an overall total of 174,876, the Ait 'Atta population now rises to 130,120 for all three Provinces. The detailed figures are shown in Table I.1.

The figures in Table I.1 seem to be substantially correct. The quantum explosion of the Ait 'Atta into Moroccan history in the pre-colonial period evidently failed to continue under the security ushered in by the French Protectorate. Unfortunately the latest 1971 census results were not available in a suitable form for further comparison at the time of writing. The estimated densities for 'Atta-land in the 1960 census (12), as shown in Table I.2 are of interest when compared with other tribal regions of Morocco.

Unlike the Rif, in northern Morocco, where the author conducted a previous field study, this is one of the lowest population densities in the country, and although some of their one-time Haratin tributaries had opted for labour migration to the cities, by the mid-1960s the Ait 'Atta themselves still had not. They have remained on an even keel in population terms since the Protectorate was established and this is to a large extent because they were dependent on transhumant economy.

These population calculations highlight the noteworthy fact that only slightly more than one-fifth of the total inhabitants of the huge territory encompassed by the Ait 'Atta are themselves actually members of this supertribe. This is important because it is a primary cause of the spatial discontinuity and reduplication of 'Atta clans. It also raises the question of just who are the neighbours of the Ait 'Atta. All their northwestern and northern neighbours are also Berbers of other tribes: the Ait Is'hha (a major segment of the Ait Massad), the Ihansalen (the descendants of Sidi Sa'id Ahansal), the Ait Sukhman and finally the Ait Yafalman (grouped together, the Ait Hadiddu, Ait Murghad and Ait Izdig). In the northeast their neighbours are Arabs of the various and sedentary 'Arab s-Subah clans, as well as the transhumant Arabs of the Bni Mhammad, who along with the Ait Burk, stand in a special clientage relationship to the Ait Khabbash, the major 'Atta clan in eastern 'Attaland.

Although the eastern and southern boundaries of 'Attaland are entirely Saharan and hence entirely arbitrary, the Ait Khabbash nomadised and alternately guarded or raided caravans as far to the southeast as Tuwat, today in Algeria but considered in the nineteenth century to be subject to the Sultan of Morocco (13), while a small and

Table I.1: Ait 'Atta population statistics from 1960 Census

	Nuclear Families	Population
I) Bni Mallal Province		
Azilal Circle:		
Ait Mhand (Ait Mhammad)	584	3,082
Zawiya Ahansal	532	2,773
Wawizakht	2,121	9.503
Province Total	3,237	15,358
II) Warzazat Province		
Bu Maln Circle:		
Bu Maln n-Dadss	272	1,365
l-Qal'a Mguna	707	4,033
Ikniwn	1,448	8,812
Imidar	902	5,508
Msimrir	567	3,134
Suq l-Khmis Dadss	66	387
Taghzut n-Ait Y'azza	609	3,357
Totals	4,751	26,596
Warzazat Circle:		
Fum Zgid: Nsula	97	520
Zagura Circle:		
Mhamid	688	3,703
Nqub	899	5,403
Tagunit	3,105	17,195
Tamgrut	141	865
Taghbalt	480	2,760
Tazarin	1,874	10,957
Zagura	932	5,016
Totals	8,819	45.899
Bu Maln	4,751	26,596
Warzazat	97	520
Zagura	8,119	45,899
Province Total	12,967	73,015
III) Qsar s-Suq Province		
Rfud Circle:		
Alnif	2,905	17,362
Awfus	1,705	8,532
Tawuz	1,025	6,691
Totals	5,336	32,585
Gulmina Circle:		
Mil'ab	1,257	6,651
Tinjdad	1,388	6,353
Totals	2,645	13,004
Qsar s-Suq Circle:		
Bu Dnib	97	559
Rfud	5,636	32,585
Gulmina	2,645	13,004
Qsar s-Suq	97	559
Province Total	8,378	46,148
Overall Province Totals		
Bni Mallal	3,237	15,358
Warzazat	12,967	73,015
Qsar s-Suq	8,378	46,148
Total Ait 'Atta	24,582	134,521

Table I.2: Average population density (persons per square kilometre) for 'Attaland

Bni Mallal Province:	
Zawiya Ahansal	7
Wawizakht	21
Ait Mhand	14
Qsar s-Suq Province:	
Alnif	4
Awfus	13
Tawuz	0.3
Mil'ab	6
Warzazat Province:	
Ikniwn	6
Msimrir	9
Imidar	7
Taghzut n-Ait Y'azza	.7
Mhamid	2
Nqub	2
Taghbalt	1
Tazarin	9

highly discontinuous pocket of the Ait Isful clan is reported at Talbalbala, also in Algeria (14). In the southwest of 'Attaland, below Mhamid, the 'Arib, like the Bni Mhammad, are Arabs, claiming Mauritanian descent, and occupy a traditional status of clientage toward the Ait 'Alwan clan of the 'Atta. On the very eve of Pacification, however, many had turned to the Ait Khabbash, who are even said to have taken an annual toll of 15 camels from the Rgaybat l-Gwasim Bedouins if the latter wanted access to northern suqs on the edge of the desert (15).

The western boundaries of 'Attaland, like the northern ones, are very much more clearcut than those to the south and east. In the southeast it is bordered by the Ulad Yihya Arabs, and from the Middle Dra up to Usikis-Msimrir in the northwest, by the Ait Siddrat, of whom are the Imgunn (or Mguna). Finally there are four small pockets of Ait 'Atta located outside the main territory of 'Attaland - the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu at Wawizakht; the Ait Bu Iknifen n-Tlmast at the Tizi n-Ilisi Pass near Zawiya Ahansal in the northwest; the Nsula at Fum Zgid in the southwest, who like the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu seem to represent a composite group which is a cross-section of 'Atta clans (16); and the Ait 'Atta of the Rtab, or Rtbat, in the northeast.

1.5 Transhumance and its Function

Having briefly described the socio-political organisation and the demographic distribution of the Ait 'Atta, we can now pass to a discussion of their major traditional activity - transhumance.

1.5.1 Transhumance Toward the North: Summer in the Igudlan

What the Ait 'Atta, in general, mean by igzdu, "camping" or by tarahhalt, "transhumance", and by extension, irahhalen (sing. arahhal), "transhumants", is the coexistence of settled agricultural life with that of pastoral nomadism, each being practised at different periods during the year. Ideally, for the Ait 'Atta it is the true mid-point between a settled agricultural existence and true pastoral nomadism, involving camels. And the essence of this mid-point is sheep.

The reality for most Ait 'Atta is that they live in three to four-storied permanent mud-and-stone houses (igharm pl. igharman), grouped into local community settlements during autumn and winter. Here they also grow their crops, with or without irrigation. In spring, however, a part of each southern community, the irahhalen, who are generally the same individuals every year, goes north, ideally across the

Tizzi Mqqurn Pass to high summer pastures in the Central Atlas. Here they live in black or goat-hair tents (pl. tikhamin), and pasture their sheep until their return to the lower valleys in the autumn.

The major feature for the Ait 'Atta, is the importance of sheep in their transhumant economy. This is particularly true of those groups which undergo really large-scale transhumance; and many do. Thus the importance of sheep is incalculable. Wealth in movable property is generally reckoned in terms of sheep, as few families have much cash in hand and in most 'Atta communities fines are still assessed in terms of them, much more so than in terms of money.

Nonetheless, the resources of everyone are not the same, and an illustration from the Ait Y'azza clan of Usikis, on the southern slope of the Central Atlas, will provide an idea of economic levels. A rich man here is one who has 500 head of sheep, 2-3 cows, 10 or more camels, 300-400 goats, 2 mules, and, moving over to crops, 400 'abrat (17) of grain per year. As for fruits and vegetables, he has only what he considers necessary for his own sustenance and that of his family. An average man is one who has 100-150 sheep, 1 cow, 3 camels, 50 goats, one mule and 100 'abrat of grain. A poor man is one who generally works as an amkari (agricultural labourer) for a wealthier individual and is paid in money: for in the Usikis Valley, as in many other parts of 'Attaland, there are only very few ikhammasen (sing. akhammas) - ploughmen - who work purely for one-fifth of the harvest. One northern exception is the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast, near Zawiya Ahansal, who have much land and hence numerous ikhammasen. In the south, notably in the Ktawa area of the Dra Valley, given the patronage-clientage symbiosis between Ait 'Atta and Haratin, this situation alters radically, for it is seen by 'Atta to be predicted on an akhammas basis.

One kind of contractual relationship over animals was common. It was known as tilt or tasurt and involved a herdsman receiving one-third in the first instance, or one-fourth in the second, of the newborn lambs of the herds he controls as payment after a three-year period, when a reckoning is made, half the milk and all the butter (18). He receives all the wool from sheep and all the milk and butter from cattle. The herding counterpart to the agricultural labourer mentioned above, is the hired shepherd or amiksa, (pl. imiksawen), who is paid annually both in money, which amounts to half his salary, and in sacks (taghrart, pl. tighrar) of grain and wool, which constitute the other half.

As elsewhere in Morocco, women among the Ait 'Atta have contractual arrangements regarding both chickens and rabbits, considered everywhere to be the exclusive property of women. A woman taking care of another woman's chickens receives half the chicks hatched. The same

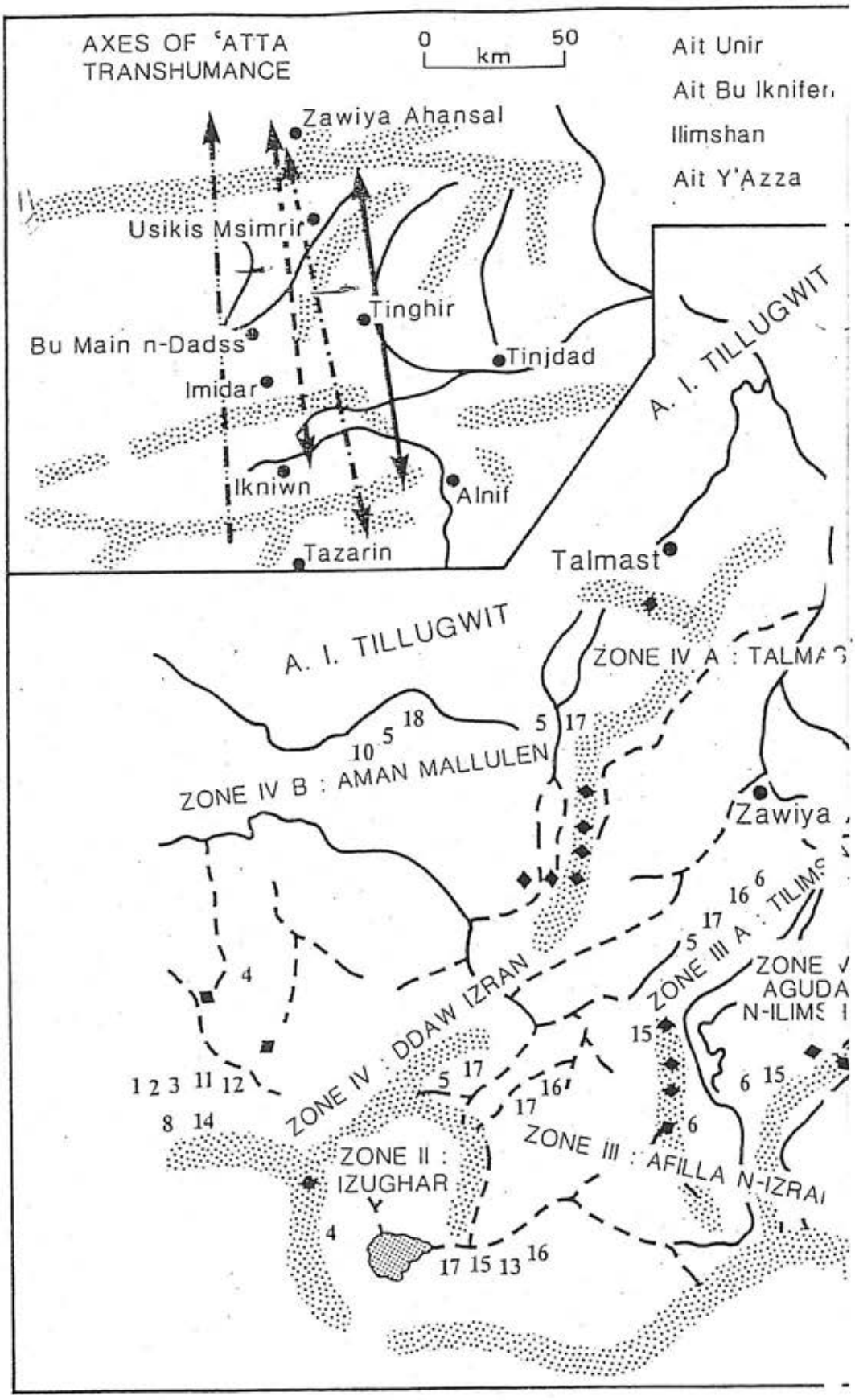
applies to rabbits. Even if men should sell eggs, the proceeds always go to their womenfolk.

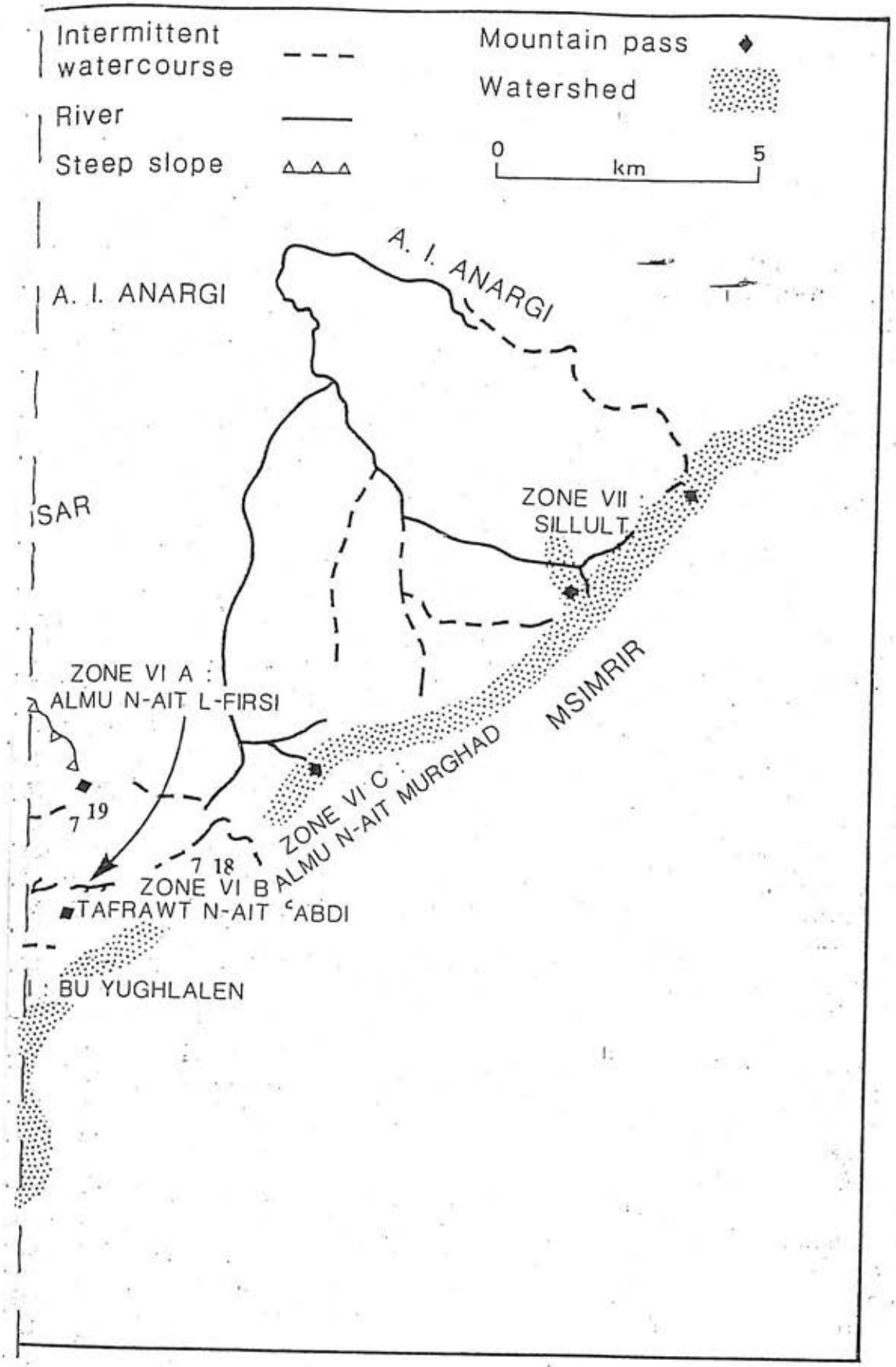
A very characteristic and important feature not only of Ait 'Atta transhumance in the Central Atlas, but of that of most other transhumant tribes in the same area, is the use of collective pasturelands (agudal pl. igudlan), which have rigid opening and closing dates, and in some cases even a limitation on the number of sheep which may be pastured there. Several transhumant clans each have their own individual agudal, if the members of the group concerned are sufficiently numerous to warrant this, but more often two or more clans may share one of these special areas of common pasture. Trespassing by outsiders or even by individuals entitled to use the agudal at any time when it is officially closed may lead to extremely heavy fines and often even to fighting. Among the Ait 'Atta clans of Usikis, for example, anyone entering an agudal before it was open had to pay 10 sheep to the chief of the local community for his first offence and 25 for his second. If he was a third-time offender, all his property was confiscated.

The period when an agudal is open corresponds more or less to the period of summer transhumance. Map 3 shows the location of pasturage zones, which are listed in the Appendix in the Central High Atlas for the various Ait 'Atta clans and those other tribes which habitually use them. Two large igudlan in the region are worthy of special mention: the Agudal n-Tlmast, just beside the Tizi n-Ilisi Pass, and the Agudal n-Ilimshan, to the south of it.

As has been mentioned, active fighting often occurs in a collective pasturage, and such is the case, every single year, as regularly as clockwork, at the Agudal n-Tlmast, which opens in mid-July on the day of the summer solstice and closes in mid-September. The conflict, which has proven impossible to settle permanently, is essentially between two different groupings of the Ait Bu Iknifen clan, those resident at Talmast itself, and those, their "cousins", who come up annually from the Usikis-Msimrir area and further south, wherever Ait Bu Iknifen colonies are to be found - Imidar, Waklim, Ashiddad, Aman Uqidar and Anu n-Izim, all between Tinghir and the Saghru. Even though the French authorities telegraphed a warning from the Azilal Circle to Bu Maln every year two weeks in advance of the opening of the agudal (19), to this day there are still annual brawls between the two groups, which often result in woundings and sometimes even in deaths, all because as one informant put it, there was not real written agreement between Sidi Sa'id Ahansal and Dadda 'Atta.

The background to this is a legend linking the founder of the Ait 'Atta, Dadda 'Atta, and the founder of the holy lineage of the Ihansalen, Sidi Sa'id Ahansal. Apparently, when Sidi Sa'id Ahansal asked Dadda 'Atta what he wanted in exchange for having chased the near-mythical Ait Ughzu


AXES OF ʿATTA TRANSHUMANCE
0 km 50
Ait Unir
Ait Bu Iknifer
Ilimshan
Ait Y'Azza
Zawiya Ahansal
Usikis Msimrir
Tinghir
Bu Main n-Dadss
Tinjdad
Imidar
A. I. TILLUGWIT
Ikniwn
Alnif
Tazarin
Talmast
A. I. TILLUGWIT
ZONE IV A : TALMA
ZONE IV B : AMAN MALLULEN
Zawiya
ZONE III A : TILIM
ZONE IV : DDAW IZRAN
ZONE V
AGUDA
N-ILIMS
ZONE II : IZUGHAR
ZONE III : AFILLA N-IZRAI


Intermittent watercourse
River
Steep slope
Mountain pass
Watershed
0
km
5
A. I. ANARGI
A. I. ANARGI
ISAR
ZONE VII
SILLULT
ZONE VI A :
ALMU N-AIT L-FIRSI
MSIMRIR
ZONE VI C :
ALMU N-AIT MURGHAD
7 19
7 18
ZONE VI B
TAFRAWT N-AIT ʿABDI
I : BU YUGHLALEN

and Ait Wassar out of the Zawiya Ahansal region, the latter replied that all he needed was grass for his sheep and for those of his descendants. However, neither party realised how these descendants would multiply. The land deed of Sidi Lahsin w-'Atman of 1598 then came, it would seem, to act as an informal ratification for the presence of a small Ait Bu Iknifen nucleus permanently installed in the area, around Tizi n-Ilisi (Talmas-Wawrirut-Tasillunt) with Sidi Sa'id Ahansal's approval, for the Ait Bu Iknifen at Talmast bear, as Gellner notes, a very special relationship to Sidi Sa'id's descendants, whose secular arm they are (20).

In fact, even in siba times before the French pacification, the sheep of the southerners had started to overrun the area of the agudal which the residents had, by common consent, marked out for their own exclusive use. Tension was already high, and matters crystallised in 1936, just after pacification, when security had been established and the balance of power in the region had been radically transformed. The French administration, doubtless under local pressure, agreed to the cultivation by the resident Ait Bu Iknifen of a part of the agudal, and a line of demarcation was drawn to separate it from the rest. The southerners were bitterly opposed to this. By 1950 the residents had begun to transform their cultivated land into individual holdings, and this their southern cousins regarded as even more contrary to custom (21).

A further complication now appeared in the form of the Ait Umzrai clan of the Ihansalan, a segment of a holy lineage which for various reasons had opted to take a lay position vis-a-vis the main lodge of the direct descendants of Sidi Sa'id Ahansal. The Ait Umzrai are not numerous, but they are fighters. Since the resident Ait Bu Iknifen always end up trespassing on to the grazing area on to the Ait Umzrai side of the Tizi-n-Ilisi, a sniping feud has been going on between the two groups for a good many years, with quite a number of casualties (22). This dispute, however, is nothing like that between resident and southern Ait Bu Iknifen, nor do the latter seem to have attempted to make common cause with the Ait Umzrai, for the Ait Umzrai, like the resident Bu Iknifen, are permanently installed. Indeed, in recent years, the resident 'Atta and the Ait Umzrai have both made common cause against the southerners - although southerners, residents, and Ait Umzrai all join forces against sheep raiders from the Ait 'Abdi (Ait Sukhman) of the Kusar Plateau.

Successive French Affaires Indigènes officers and qaids of the independent Moroccan administration have been determined to settle this affair, and none has been successful. The matter goes up annually to gubernatorial level in both the provinces of Bni Mallal and of Warzazat, and the result is a stalemate (23) because the agreement between Dadda

'Atta and Sidi Sa'id Ahansal was only worked out in principle and never in practice.

By contrast, the Agudal n-Ilimshan issue is a far more prosaic affair, even though the Ilimshan consider themselves the major clan in 'Attaland. Both the Ihansalen and the Ilimshan have pasturage rights there, the former from the end of September until March 10 (Julian Calendar), and the latter from the end of June until the end of September (Julian Calendar). The Ihansalen, therefore, must wait until the Ilimshan move out, while at yet another nearby pasturage zone, Agudal n-Tilimsin, the Ihansalen and the Ilimshan both have grazing rights also, but the former have to wait until the latter arrive before they can move in. Those members of the Ait Y'azza of Usikis who transhume also have grazing rights in this area.

There are also, further south, much smaller pasturage zones, like Agudal n-Ait Yihya (used by the Ait Unibgi clan of Usikis), near Usikis, and the Agudal n-Ait Msimrir (used by the Ait Bu Iknifen of Msimrir and forbidden to anyone with over 50 sheep), the Agudal n-Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, near Tinghir (again designed for poor people or people with few sheep, open in winter, and now rented out by the local Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim to anyone, it is said, even to the Ait Murghad), and the Agudal n-Ait Ulturigg (or Ulturugg), for the Ait Y'azza of Tinjdad (open only to sedentary Ait 'Atta of the area and forbidden to transhumants).

However, at Adar n-w-Ushshn ("jackal's leg"), a small 'Atta-owned pasturage zone southwest of Usikis, there was a big fight about 1958 between the Ait 'Atta and the Imgunn, who always try to break into this pasturage zone uninvited. And as usual in such pasturage squabbles, there were several wounded.

1.5.2 Transhumance in the south: Winter and the Ma'idar

There are other manifestations of transhumance in 'Attaland, and by no means all 'Atta groups go up into the Central Atlas for sheep transhumance in summer. There are certain special forms of winter transhumance as well - the Ait 'Alwan of Mhamid and the Ait Khabbash of Tawuz move down southward into the desert, while from further north, the elements of the Ait Usikis go down to search for winter pasture as far as the region of Izzugwighen, near Alnif. The main focus of winter transhumance are the southern ma'idar-s and success depends on a relative abundance of winter rain. A ma'idar is a depression, a basin in the hammada areas of the desert, of which there are several in 'Attaland. The biggest one, irrigated by the Ragg and the Ma'idar rivers, is located at a point where the jurisdictions of the bureaux of Tazarin, Alnif and Tawuz coincide, which

is to say, at a certain point on the provincial border between the Warzazat and Qsar s-Suq Provinces. When there has been sufficient winter rain, the administrators of all three bureaux send out telegrams to all other bureaux where Ait 'Atta live or are permanently registered, as far as 250-300 kms away, inviting them to come down and cultivate. The invitation is made on a basis of First Come, First Serve, and all Ait 'Atta who wish to participate must assemble at the ma'idar exactly eight days after the telegrams have been sent out. No doubt in pre-Protectorate times notification must have been made by word of mouth.

Ideally, all participating Ait 'Atta arrive on a fixed day for the allocation of land for cultivation, and the administrators at the posts of both Alnif and Tawuz preside although they do not actually take part in the distribution. The amount of irrigable land available may vary from 15,000 hectares to about 4,000 hectares, in any given rainy season. In any case, convocations may not take place every year owing to the lack of rain.

The morning after all the Ait 'Atta who have decided to come are assembled, two of them are sent out on mule-back to see to what extent the available land has been evenly irrigated. On their return, they estimate how much land can be used. The next day the division is made and is nominally based on the crucial structure of the "five-fifths" of the Ait 'Atta (khams khmas n-Ait 'Atta), but it also allows for the actual number of men from each khums present. The land division between khmas is made, then, in direct proportion to the number from each khums actually there. Lots are drawn to see who cultivates the choicest pieces of land, the best ones naturally being those in the centre of the basin.

Disputes seldom or never occur over this division, once the lots have been drawn, for it is held that God will not bless the crops of those who quarrel - and indeed the division effected on the basis of those present is in itself an additional insurance against such disputes. The supervising qaids or administrators of the bureaux concerned are, as noted, generally only spectators.

1.6 Dwellings, Storehouses, Local communities and Camping Units

The permanent dwellings of the Ait 'Atta and indeed of most groups and peoples in South-Central Morocco are known in the French literature by their Arabic name of qsur (sing. qsar) but the Ait 'Atta almost universally designate them by the Berber term igharman (sing. igharm), a word which, in the Central Atlas, also refers to the collective storehouse of the community at large.

Most of the permanent dwellings in south-central Morocco

are very striking in appearance. They are three or four or even five stories high (approx. 20–25 m) and consist in essence of four towers (sing.l-burj) of mud and stone masonry joined by walls and surrounding an interior courtyard. In the Central Atlas itself most towers are square, while on its south slope and from the Dadss down to the Dra they taper toward a flat but crenellated top, and give the whole an elegant and castle-like appearance.

Much painstaking work has been done on Berber dwelling and architectural styles in the Atlas (24). Each igharm houses all the constituent nuclear or elementary families not only of an entire lineage but usually of several agnatically related lineages belonging to the same clan. Among the Ait 'Atta of Usikis, this means anywhere from two to five hundred individuals. The entrances are at each corner tower, while spiral and uneven staircases lead up to individual family rooms on each floor. Virtually every entry has the guest room for the corresponding lineage toward the top of the staircase, though it is generally kept locked and only opened up for important guests.

The whole assumes the aspect of a fortress, a feature which is, perhaps, even more true of the igharm in its second role of collective storehouse or granary, a role manifested principally in the Central Atlas (25). This is an area where each settlement needs protection against thieves from other tribes who would steal not only grain but sheep. As a collective storehouse, the igharm, located well apart from the dwelling houses, usually consists of a single tower which has several gates of entry, and it has a watchman appointed and remunerated in kind by the community. Its principal internal feature is that it is honeycombed with little cubicles, which correspond roughly in number to that of the families living in the community, while the number of doors generally corresponds to the number of resident lineages. It is in his cubicle, his tahanut, that each man stores his grain reserves.

The igharman, both as dwellings and as storehouses, together form the essence of the architypal local community or tamazirt (26), which is also a clan community composed of at least one localised 'Atta clan. An example of one such clan community is Usikis, where the resident 'Atta, who form three major clans plus a few remnants from five others, are known collectively as the Ait 'Atta n-Usikis.

At Usikis there are eight igharman clustered together and, as elsewhere, all are named. Igharm n-Imi n-Warg is about three kilometres from the rest at the entrance to the Usikis Valley. In the valley itself are Igharm n-Ta'dadat, Igharm n-Tabulmant, Igharm n-Tabuidant, Igharm n-Ait Unibgi, Igharm Aqdim n-Ait Y'azza and Igharm n-Ait Bu Iknifen; while about five kilometres further south by road is the isolated Igharm n-Ait Tidrit. The last four are named after the clans resident in them. The Ait Tidrit, however, are

not Ait 'Atta at all but a discontinuous segment of the Ait Tighanimin, an holy clan of the Ihansalen - although other Ihansalen dispute their claim to holiness (27).

The three major Ait 'Atta clans represented at Usikis are the Ait Bu Iknifen, the Ait Y'azza and the Ait Unibgi. The Ait Bu Iknifen are by far the strongest numerically, and inhabit not only the igharm which bears their name but those of Imi n-Warg, Ta'dadat and Tabulmant. Those at Imi n-Warg are refugees from a bloodfeud with other Ait Bu Iknifen of the same lineage at Msimrir. Localised segments of all four of the major Ait Bu Iknifen lineages are to be found at Usikis, and of one of them as Msimrir. The Ait Y'azza, inhabit both the igharm bearing their own name and that of Tabuidant, while the Ait Unibgi are exclusively housed in their own igharm.

In 1962, aside from the Ait Bu Iknifen majority, there were also 4-5 nuclear families of the Ait Isful, 7 of the Ignawen and 11 of the Ait Bu Dawud in the Igharm n-Ta'dadat. The Igharm n-Ait Bu Iknifen itself contained 4 nuclear families of the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, while 4 more Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim families were found in Tabulmant, which also had 2 from the Ait Murghad who are considered "naturalised" 'Atta. The Igharm n-Tabuidant n-Ait Y'azza, for its part, had 2 nuclear families of the Ilimshan clan. In addition, there were 2 further nuclear families of black freedmen in Ta'dadat, one of a negro blacksmith (amzil) in the Igharm n-Ait Bu Iknifen itself, and 2 more of blacks, almost certainly servitors, at Tidrit. Finally, in the Igharm n-Ait Y'azza, there were 2 nuclear families of "naturalised" holy men, father and son, from the Ait Tighanimin of the Ihansalen, and 1 nuclear family of a "foreign" sharif from Khanifra in the Middle Atlas.

The structural implications of these settlement patterns have been discussed in the previous study of the Ait 'Atta although they are not completely typical. For instance the representation of three or more clans in any given locality is certainly more than the norm. However, the Ait Usikis share their quota of three major and distinct clans with two other very important communities, the completely discontinuous Ait 'Atta n-Umalu in the Middle Atlas and the so-called Ait 'Aisa of Igharm Amazdar, the tribal capital in the heart of the Saghru. Indeed, one community just south of the Saghru, Taghbalt, had no less than four Ait 'Atta clans represented in it and it seems possible that these four widely separated communities, all containing a plurality of clans, represent a conscious and strategic safeguard for territorial defence.

The permanent and fixed local community of igharman, however, only provides the setting for about half the annual life of many Ait 'Atta. The complement to the tamazirt, the local community, is the igzdu - until Pacification the transhumant camping unit. In pre-Protectorate

times the igzdu, which consisted of seven or more tents, was the universal camping unit throughout 'Attaland, because force of numbers also meant force of arms. Since the unprecedented security which came to the region as a result of the establishment of the Protectorate, however, the usual camping unit, known as imzdakh or addjar, "neighbours" consists of less than seven tents.

The traditional igzdu pattern was a circle of tents with the sheep in the middle, whereas the people in an imzdakh generally set up a circle of stones with fires (asarqu) lit at night beside the point of entry (tazawt) at the four quarters of the circle. In the case of one or two tents, a sheep enclosure is made of a circle of stones and a man watches over each entry as guardian of the sheep. As one man can watch over a hundred sheep, the latter unit is often given the same name as the normal term for shepherd, amiksa.

A given tent (takhamt) houses either a nuclear family or even an extended family consisting of, say, father, mother, two unmarried daughters and two or three married sons and their wives. This, however, would be a large number of people to be under a single tent, although the composition of the ait takhamt, tent-household, is theoretically a mirror image of that of the takat, or dwelling household. This is very seldom so in fact because not everyone transhumes and some must stay at home. A man with two wives may generally find it advantageous to send the younger one on transhumance in spring, but then in 'Attaland, monogamy is the rule, even though it may sometimes be serial in nature.

.1.7 Degrees of Transhumance and Sedentarisation

Ait 'Atta say that barring factors of age, incapacity, infirmity and the like, those who transhume do so largely as a matter of habit. There are those (of both sexes) who have the custom, the qa'ida, of transhuming every year, and, likewise, there are those who do not. Rotation between transhumant and stay-at-home members of a family may vary from one year to the next but generally the same individuals are involved and there is little change over. One brother may be a regular transhumant and another may not budge from his house, while although polygamy is rare, any man with two wives may send one of them up into the mountains with the sheep.

In the south, the same rubric covers the Ait 'Atta generally as tribally organised irahhalen transhumants, as opposed to their sedentary negroid clients, the Haratin or Drawa, the essentially non-tribal date cultivators of the southern oases of the Dra and the Tafilalt. The latter are looked down upon by the pastoralist Ait 'Atta as ait tmurt,

"people of protection". Indeed the mere name of Haratin itself (in Tamazight, Ihartan), which is how the Ait 'Atta and all other white Berber and Arab tribesmen in the region designate them, carries heavy undertones of contempt, which is lacking in their own self-designation of Drawa.

The economic character of the 'Atta-Haratin symbiosis, both at the interindividual and intergroup level, is but one facet of the total social relationship between protectors and protected. The assistance of the white tribal transhumants was, after all, originally sought by the black sedentary agriculturalists in order to rid themselves of the onus of paying tribute to other white tribal nomads, such as the Ruha and the Ulad Yihya Arabs in the Middle Dra. Yet it is ironic that once Pacification had been achieved and the French Protectorate had been firmly established, it was the sedentary Haratin who took up labour migration to the northern Moroccan cities (such as Marrakesh and, in particular, Casablanca (28)) while the Ait 'Atta, within their radii of transhumance, stayed at home. As Capt. de Monts de Savasse has noted (29), any w-'Atta who should opt to take up permanent residence outside 'Attaland is considered "legally dead" by those at home, and hence in practice those who do so are almost nil.

1.7.1 Sedentary Groups

As far as sedentarisation is concerned, one fundamental point must be made - the existence of igharman or qsur is not an index of the degree of sedentarisation of any particular group, as all transhumants, by definition, have permanent dwellings, which are lived in for approximately half the year (30). Nonetheles, some Ait 'Atta groups are definitely more sedentarised than others. The Ait l-Firsi of the Saghru, for example, who live in one of the poorest igharman in 'Attaland, have been completely sedentarised since the Protectorate and reduced to penury, although they were once the widest-ranging group of transhumants in the supertribe. Although the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu transhumed before the Protectorate from Wawizakht to the Uman r-Rbi' river they all today have fields and houses and are completely sedentarised and agricultural. A third group of complete sedentaries are the Ait Wallal of the Dadss Valley near l-Qal'a Mguna, in western 'Attaland. They and their Haratin have no sheep and hence stay at home all year round. Those Haratin who have no land work for their Ait Wallal protectors for one-fifth of the harvest, here as elsewhere; but another factor in sedentarisation, in this case, may be because the normal prohibition on intermarriage between Ait 'Atta and Haratin may have become relaxed. Some Ait Wallal men seem to

have taken Haratin wives although elsewhere other Ait Wallal groups are white Berbers and all practice transhumance.

The most striking case where the prohibition on intermarriage between Ait 'Atta and Haratin has broken down, however, is among the Ait Unir of Bu Maln. Although informants claim that here transhumance is practised, up to Bu Yihya in the Ait Mhand in summer and down to the Dra (Ulad Yihya) in winter not just by Ait 'Atta but also by wealthy Haratin as well, this statement, as well as the extremely active cultivation under irrigation around Bu Maln itself, casts doubt on the whole assertion: for nowhere else in North Africa do Haratin transhume. Other Ait Unir groups further south do indeed practise long-range transhumance, but this could not have been the case at Bu Maln. They have also become thoroughly Haratinised in their socio-political institutions and consider 'Atta and Haratin to be on an equal social footing - the biggest sin of all in normal 'Atta eyes.

There are two more northern groups among whom transhumance exists but is very limited: the Ait Unir of Birnat, in the Ait Mhand, and the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast near Zawiya Ahansal. These latter are those whose major aim is to convert the agudal of Talmast into arable land and to stave off their southern cousins who come up to joust with them every summer. The Ait Bu Iknifen resident at Talmast have tents, to be sure, but they do not move them more than 2 to 3 km out into the agudal in summer. Finally, the Ait Isful at Tabsbast, near Tinghir, say that they have not transhumed for six centuries, although a very few of them go south to the Dra rather than north toward the Atlas.

1.7.2 Mixed transhumant and sedentary groups

Here the Ait Usikis afford a good example, and far from being "highly sedentarised" as some observers have claimed (31), the Ait Usikis proportion their agricultural and pastoral activities about equally. Even though their permanent dwellings are not far from their summer pasturage zones, only about a third of them remain home when the igudlan are open.

Of the three clans making up the Ait 'Atta of Usikis, those in each who go on transhumance do so jointly, which is why the formation of the igzdu is based as much on criteria of neighbourhood as on those of kinship. The actual, initial move of transhumance is preceded by warnings being sent to those already there, requesting that they prepare a place for the new transhumants on arrival. From Usikis it takes three days' journey to get up to Tilimsin, while the sheep are grazing in the akal along the path. This is

the normal grazing land held in indivision by the clan, but which differs from the agudal in that the grass is not as plentiful nor as good. Such land is also not subjected to opening and closing dates. Once at Tilimsin, the Ait Bu Iknifen and other transhuming groups of Usikis and Msimrir must wait with the other Ait Bu Iknifen who have come up from further south until the Agudal n-Tlmast opens and the rush, resulting in the annual brawl with the residents begins. By the end of October, the summer transhumants have headed south again.

Many also turn into winter transhumants in November, when it takes thirty-three days to get down to Izzugwighen near Alnif. Those Ait 'Atta n-Usikis who are far from the irrigation ditches which crosscut the Usikis Valley cover all this ground. They may pasture at any points they want along the way, but if they reach igudlan anywhere, they must once again wait for the opening date. When there is much grass in the south, the transhumants stay there all winter; if not, they return home right away with their sheep. As lambs are generally born in October in years when the grass is good and in January when it is not, this too is a factor in the calibration of transhumant movements.

1.7.3 Transhumance among southern groups

Only a very few 'Atta groups in the extreme south of 'Attaland, on the edge of the desert, transhume as far north as the Central Atlas. Most either move laterally or further south into the desert. It is often claimed that the Ait Khabbash, who live in a truly Saharan and most inhospitable environment which is isolated topographically from the rest of 'Attaland, are true full-scale camel nomads; but Joly has shown that they are not (31). They were highly skillful both as caravan guides and as camel raiders whose targets were generally the nomad Barabish and Rgaybat. On occasion they may have even penetrated as far south as the Niger River.

Although a very few Ait Khabbash notables may own herds of a hundred or more camels, seventy per cent of the clan's total livestock (10,000 to 20,000 head in 1951) consists of goats and ten per cent of sheep. The total number of camels owned by the Ait Khabbash have been estimated at only 2,000 (32). The relative unimportance of camels to the Ait 'Atta is shown by the fact that Ait 'Atta in general - even the Ait Khabbash - brand their camels, for unlike true camel pastoralists such as the Rgaybat, they simply do not have enough to make branding worthwhile.

The same is probably true of their former Arab tributaries, the Bni Mhammad. Given that a single wealthy

Rgaybi may own as many as 2,000 camels the difference between the Rgaybat and the Ait Khabbash in terms of proportion and numbers of camels owned is enormous. Furthermore indeed, almost all the Ait Khabbash camels, as with other 'Atta groups are used exclusively for transport. In addition, the long-term contractual associations, called mniha, between owners of animals and their herders, which are such an integral feature of Rgaybat camel nomadism and of camel pastoralism in the Western Sahara generally, are entirely absent among the Ait Khabbash (33).

The normal extent of Ait Khabbash transhumance is from the Tawuz region to those of the Ma'idar, the Drawa, and the wastelands of the Kamkam and the Igshwan, the time of year depending on the state both of rain and grass. None of these areas is more than 100 km distant and hence not far enough from Tawuz for the Ait Khabbash to qualify as full-scale camel nomads, despite their camel fixation and despite the fact that more than half of them still live in tents all year round. Indeed, to the south they are hemmed in by the great dune deserts of the 'Arg Igidi and the 'Arg Shash, which they will never cross but which the Rgaybat will (34). If the Ait Khabbash move a hundred kilometres, the Rgaybat easily move a thousand. Even the smaller dunes of the more northerly 'Arg l-'Atshan and 'Arg r-Rawi hem the Ait Khabbash in.

To the southwest of Tawuz, in the region around Mhamid, the Ait 'Alwan occupy a somewhat analogous position. Most of them also live in tents all year round, and they have camels. They too were former caravaneers and they, like their former tributaries the 'Arib, are considered to be of Mauritanian or Ma'qil Arab origin. In many respects, though, they are the 'political pariahs' of the Ait 'Atta supertribe (35). Their movements are certainly as extensive as those of the Ait Khabbash - down to the Hammada, the Battana and the Imawen n-Izzugwighen in March, with a return to Mhamid and the qsar of Tiraf n-Ait 'Alwan north of it in October, although the animals which are in transhumance in the hammadas stay there all year. Once again, sheep are much more numerous than camels, and their transhumance, in comparison to the yardstick of Rgaybat nomadism, can be qualified as nothing else than simple transhumance.

Another group, the Ait Isful of Tagunit and the lliktawen region between Zagura and Mhamid, transhume west as far as Tisint (160 km away) in the Jbil Bani, as far north as the Saghru and as far east as Tafilalt (190 km). Formerly they moved southeast as far as Tabalbala in Algeria, 300 km away, where other Ait Isful were already established in the nineteenth century. Their main livestock is sheep, and their very considerable displacements depend on availability of grass, as they have no collective pasturelands.

1.7.4 Northern transhumance by southern groups

Amongst those southern 'Atta groups which make long marches to the north and into the Central Atlas on transhumance one good example is provided by the southern groups of the Ait Bu Iknifen from Imidar, Ashiddad, Anu n-Izim, Aman Uqidar and Waklim, all in the area between Bu Maln and Tinghir. It is they who provide the major contending force in the annual brawl against the resident Bu Iknifen for use of the Agudal n-Tlamast in summer. They move only 60 to 70 km but they do so up and over some of the most rugged mountains in Morocco. In winter they move east to the Tafilalt and as far south as Mhamid.

Another group which regularly sends contingents up to the Agudal n-Tlmast in summer covering over 150 km to do so, is the Ait Khalifa of the Mil'ab region, near Gulmina, who go to the Tafilalt, Saghru, Ugnat and Izzugwighen in winter. The Ait Slillu of Nqub go up to Tamda near the Tizi n-Ilisi Pass, covering almost the same distance. They leave on May 17 and return at the end of September. The Ait Bu Dawud of Tazarin go right up to Mt. Azurki.

The Ait l-Firsi of the Eastern Saghru used to cover at least 150 km as their summer transhumance route took them to the Tafrawt n-Ait 'Abdi north of the Central Atlas watershed and on as far as the Zawiya Tamga and the Zawiya Askar, lodges both inhabited by dissenting saints who split from the main line of the Ihansalen igurramen at Zawiya Ahansal and to whom they gave donations in kind. For winter transhumance they too went down to Izzugwighen near Alnif. They do not do so now, nor do they transhume any more. They were deprived of their rights to their agudal in the recent past under circumstances which are not entirely clear. They are now completely sedentarised, and are economically and morally impoverished as a result (36).

The Ilimshan, concentrated in the Saghru but with elements also in the Dra, and in some respects the most noteworthy of all 'Atta clans, transhume a good 100 km northward to the Agudal n-Ilimshan in the Central Atlas, which they share with the Ihansalen, though they are there in summer and the latter are there in winter.

Here a final observation about transhumance is in order. All of these moves, long and short, north and south, can be made, informants claimed, without ever crossing or infringing upon the territory of any other non-'Atta tribal group. For as with the Agudal n-Tlmast, infringement by one group and its flocks on the territory of another swiftly leads to fighting. In fact, such fighting did indeed occur, but the distribution of 'Atta clans, with its concomitant reduplication and discontinuity of clan groups was so well worked out that it did not do so frequently. In fact, the intra-Ait Bu Iknifen dispute at Talmast is a rather special case.

1.8 The Agricultural Cycle

Since transhumance is inevitably partnered by sedentary agriculture, a description of the annual agricultural cycle is provided here. This description is limited to the Usikis-Msimrir region, rather than further south, because in the Saghru agriculture is much more limited, while in the Dra and the Tafilalt oases the date harvest has important socio-political implications in the context of 'Atta-Haratin relations.

The Usikis Valley is of more than sufficient fertility to support its population, and is crisscrossed by a network of irrigation ditches (tarugwa) in which there is permanent water. The source is the Aqqa n-Usikis which not only comes down from the Almu n-Idikal pasture land near Zawiya Ahansal but which is fed also by a spring gushing down from the Tizi n-Tanirghisin Pass.

All crops are irrigated - barley, wheat, turnips, potatoes, carrots, maize and lucerne, as well as small but impressive clusters of walnut trees close to each igharm - and the available irrigation water is divided into four parts, one for each of the major igharman, Ait Y'azza (and Tabuidant), Ait Unibgi, Ait Ta'dadat (and Tabulmant) and Ait Bu Iknifen each of whom take their part in turn, (swifa, from French suivant, 'following', or less often Arabic nuba or, in Tamazight, nubt). The Ait Tidrit, 20 km away, irrigate separately, while the Ait Imi n-Warg irrigation water comes down directly from the Ait Hadiddu.

When there is much water, each igharm irrigates for about five days both by day and at night; when there is little water, five days is not enough and each one may take ten. There are, to be sure, fines for taking water out of turn and for infractions of any rules.

This irrigation situation, under conditions of relative plenty, should be contrasted with that in vogue among the Ait 1-Firsi of the Saghru, among whom water is very scarce. They have no springs or rivers, only wells, and when irrigating, they use a waterclock system. A small bowl with tiny holes is placed in a certain pool, and it takes exactly one hour for it to sink to the bottom. It is then taken out of the pool and the process is repeated (37). At Tazarin, just south of the Saghru, where water is equally scarce, it is measured out in a Kuskus tub which also has holes in the bottom: the water seeps through the holes and only that which is in the tub may be used by each owner.

At Usikis, the annual agricultural cycle begins and ends in summer, when the summer transhumants are away in the high pastures. Those who stay behind irrigate the fields, and throughout the autumn there is planting and ploughing of wheat with harvesting of maize in September, walnuts in late October and early November, potatoes in November and turnips from October to January. When the transhumants go

south for the winter, however, those who stay at home do little or nothing, as it is cold.

Barley is planted at the beginning of February. Ploughing is finished by mid-March while the whole of the same month is devoted to irrigation of fields. In April potatoes and maize are planted and in May, about or before summer transhumance begins, lucerne is planted; and the wool is cut from the sheep in alternate years.

Lambing takes place in October in good years, and in January in poor ones, when camels also give birth. In June turnips are planted and in July maize, potatoes, lucerne and turnips are all irrigated, the grains are harvested, and the whole cycle begins again two months later with the first rains. The slack season, in August, September and early October between harvesting and ploughing, is the time for weddings, as it is elsewhere in rural Morocco.

The above may be compared with the very much simpler and more restricted annual cycle of the Ait Bu Iknifen at Talmast, who from October through April live in their igharman. In fact, aside from ploughing their fields in November, they do nothing because of the cold. In May, with the aid of ikhammasen from the lay lineages of the Ihansalen, they begin to harvest the barley planted without irrigation the previous September. Through June and July some of them continue to do this, while others are making their very short transhumance move to the Almu n-Talmast, their summer pasturage. June can be a difficult time because if a man has only one wife, she accompanies him on transhumance and he must hire another woman to stay at home and feed the harvesters. Threshing of the barley crop begins in August and continues through September, at the end of which the transhumants return the 3 to 4 km to their igharman again. In winter, however, not all are inactive, as some go down to sharecrop the early spring harvests around Bni Mallal.

For those who do not transhume and on occasion require aid, there is the cooperative institution known as tiwizi (Mor.Ar. twiza). It is a gathering of people for the performance of a specific task, whether housebuilding, cutting down trees to prepare a given plot of land for agriculture, threshing or, in particular, harvesting. Anyone needing such aid announces the fact in the market, saying he needs so many young men to help him for a stipulated amount of time. They are all fed at his expense and the meal must be particularly good and plentiful, but they only work for the time stipulated (two to three days, as a rule) and no longer. If the job is not completed within the time limit, they leave, and the man who requested them must get a new group in the same way as before. The institution is far commoner among the Ihansalen than among the Ait 'Atta but certainly by the 1950s

it was becoming rarer everywhere in the Central Atlas as more young men went down to the plain in summer to harvest for money.

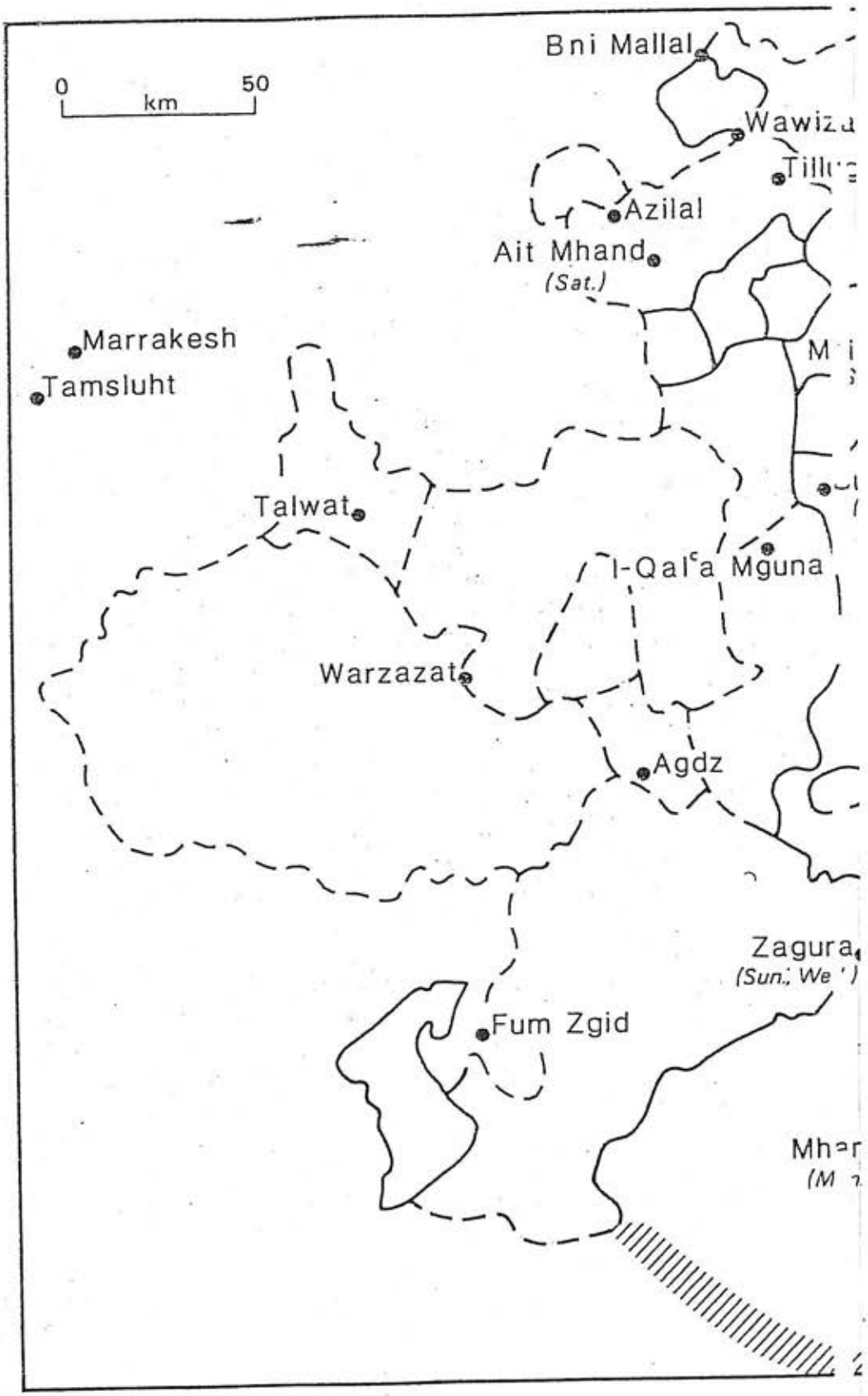
1.9 Markets

The socio-economic hallmark of rural and tribal Morocco, and one long recognised as such, is the existence of weekly tribal markets - suqs; yet in much of southern Morocco they thin out territorially in proportion to the population, and in some areas are nonexistent, or were so in pre-Protectorate times. 'Attaland is definitely one of these: for the markets the Ait 'Atta frequent were all on the fringes of the supertribal territory, until the slow establishment of a very few newer markets after Independence.

In the core of 'Attaland, markets are conspicuous by their absence, and this very fact is consistent with the ever-prevailing Ait 'Atta tendency to keep strangers out of their own tribal land, a tendency borne out both by their system of land tenure and by their socio-political structure. The Ait 'Atta through transhumance, are mobile, and are free to attend the markets of others on their territorial fringes. Hence there are few if any markets which are attended exclusively by Ait 'Atta; and none at all in the Saghru until 1974.

There are only two markets located in or even near the core area of 'Attaland, just south of the Saghru. Both are held on Wednesdays, at Tazarin and at Alnif. But there are a dozen others on the fringes of 'Attaland, all of which are frequented by Ait 'Atta. In the northwest, on Wednesdays at Wawizakht there is a market for The Ait 'Atta n-Umalu, on Saturdays at Ait Mhand for the Ait Unir n-Birnat, on Mondays at Zawiya Ahansal for the Ait Bu Iknifen n-Tlmast as well as on Saturdays, at Tillugwit n-Ait Ishha for the summer transhumants, and on Saturdays, at Msimrir for the Ait Bu Iknifen n-Msimrir and the Ait Usikis. These are small mountain markets; much bigger ones, further south, which embrace a far wider clientele, are the Monday market at Tinghir and Wednesday markets at Bu Maln n-Dadss and at Tinjdad, while still further south there is a small Sunday market at Nqub for the Ait Slillu, a small Monday market at Mhamid for the Ait 'Alwan and the 'Arib, and a small Tuesday market at Mil'ab near Gulmina for the Ait Khalifa. Large bi-weekly markets are held at Zagura on Sundays and Wednesdays, at Tagunit on Sundays and Thursdays and at Gulmina on Mondays and Thursdays. In the Rtab, the northeastern part of 'Attaland there is even a tri-weekly market, on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, while the bi-weekly Sunday and Thursday market at Risani serves the Ait Khabbash at Tawuz.

Other than their distribution and possibly the fact that


Bni Mallal
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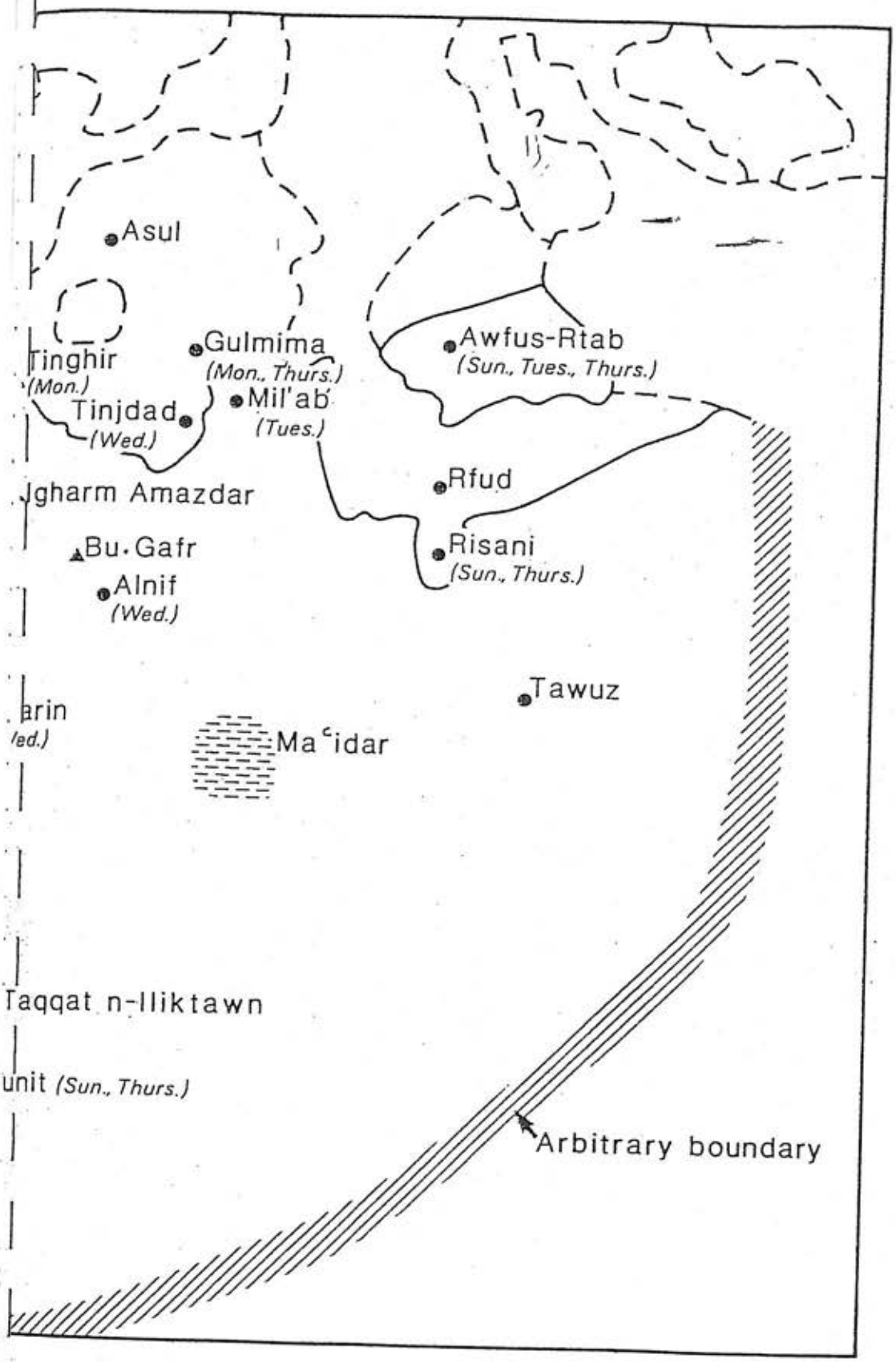

Asul
Tinghir
(Mon.)
Gulmima
(Mon., Thurs.)
Mil'ab
(Tues.)
Tinjdad
(Wed.)
Awfus-Rtab
(Sun., Tues., Thurs.)
Rfud
Risani
(Sun., Thurs.)
Bu-Gafr
Alnif
(Wed.)
Tawuz
Ma'idar
Arbitrary boundary

three of the largest markets on the fringes of 'Attaland are bi-weekly and even tri-weekly - with one day of the week generally oriented toward agricultural produce and another toward animals - the markets within 'Attaland and on its peripheries offer no special peculiarities or noteworthy features. Their distribution, as shown on Map 4, is indeed interesting, for it is fully consistent with what Capt. de Monts de Savasse correctly contends is the main object of the whole Ait 'Atta system of land tenure. This is to exclude strangers. The Ait 'Atta must perforce deal with them on the fringes of their territory, but they are rigidly excluded from its core (38).

The lack of markets within 'Attaland might at first sight almost seem to justify the erroneous stereotype of autarchy as a prime factor in tribal economics. However, the number of markets on the fringes belies this suggestion and the lack of them in the centre answers a question of a very different kind. It demonstrates that 'Attaland is designed exclusively for the Ait 'Atta, regardless of who else may be living there.

Chapter Notes

1. Hart, D.M., Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons: the Socio-Political Organisation of the Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco, Menas Press Ltd., Wisbech, 1981.

2. Spillmann, G., Les Ait 'Atta du Sahara et la Pacification du Haut Dra, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, t.xxix. Rabat, 1936.

3. David M. Hart, " 'Assu u Ba Slam (1890-1960): De la Resistance à la Pacification au Maroc (Essai d'Anthropologie Sociale)", in Charles-André Julien, Magali Morsy, Catherine Cocquery-Vidrovitch and Yves Person, Eds. Les Africains, vol.V, Paris: Editions Jeune Afrique, 1977, pp.75-106; and 'Les Ait 'Atta du Sud-Centre Marocain: Eléments d'Analyse comparative avec les Pakhtuns (Afridi) du Nord-Ouest Pakistanais, in Ernest Gellner, ed. Islam Communauté et Société: Anthropologies du Maghreb, Les Cahiers du C.R.E.S.M., No.12, Paris and Aix-en-Provence: Centre National Recherche, 1981, pp.55-70.

4. Dr F.J. Linares, "Voyage au Tafilalt avec S.M. le Sultan Moulay Hasan en 1893", Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc, Nos.3-4, 1932, pp.1-66.

5. Cf. in particular Capt. Georges Spillmann, Les Ait 'Atta du Sahara et la Pacification du Haut Dra, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, vol. XXIX, Rabat, Felix MOndho, 1936.

6. For the sake of completeness they are: 1) the Ait Wahlim, 2) the Ait Wallal and the Ait Unir, 3) the Ait Isful and the Ait 'Alwan, 4) the Ait Unibgi (made up of the Ait Umnasf and the Ait Khabbash) and 5) the Ait 'Aisa Mzin (comprising the Ait Y'azza, the Ait Khalifa and the Ait l-Firsi and the Ait Khardi.

7. David M. Hart, 'Segmentary Systems and the Role of 'Five Fifths' in Tribal Morocco', Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée, 1.3.1967, pp.65-95, republished in Akbar S. Ahmed and David M. Hart, Eds., From the Atlas to the Indus: Islam in Tribal Societies, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982, pp.66-105. See also David M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnology and History, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No.55, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976, pp.248-260, and idem, Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons: The Socio-Political Organisation of the Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco, Outwell, Wisbech, Menas Press Ltd.,

8. Ernest Gellner, Saints of the Atlas, London Weidenfeld and Nicholson 1969, pp.81ff., David M. Hart, Dadda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons, Outwell-Wisbech: Menas Press Ltd., 1981, pp.76-93.

9. Royaume du Maroc Ministère de l'Economie Nationale, Division de la Coordination Economique et du Plan, Recensement Démographique (Juin, 1960): Population Rurale du Maroc, Rabat: Service Central des Statistiques, June 1962, refs. to pp.162, 177, 33, 343, 585, 594, 621-632.

10. Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.25.

11. Protectorat de la République Française au Maroc, Secrétariat Général du Protéctorat, Service du Travail et des Questions Sociales, Répertoire Alphabétique des confédérations de tribus, des tribus, des fractions de Tribus et des Agglomérations de la Zone Française de l'Empire Cherifen au 1er Novembre 1939, Casablanca Imprimeries Réunies (Vigie Marocaine et Petit Marocain) 1939, pp.13-14, 24.

12. Cf. Daniel Noin, Population (1960); Notices Explicatives (Section IX-Géographie Humaine: Planches 31a et 31b: Démographie) from the Atlas du Maroc, Comité National de Géographie du Maroc, Rabat 1963, pp.40, 43-44, 46-47.

13. Dunn, op. cit., 1971.

14. Francine-Dominique Champault, Une Oasis du Sahara Nord-Occidental-Tabelbala, Paris; Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969, p.32. The Ait Isful in question established themselves in Tabalbala in the nineteenth century and reportedly took over the oasis in tutelage after having fled the consequences of a murder at home.

15. Cf. Angel Domenech Lafuente, Algo Sobre Rio de Oro, Madrid Selecciones Graficas 1946, p.128. For an ethnographic survey of the Rgaybat, see David M. Hart, 'The Social Structure of the Rgibat Bedouins of the Western Sahara', Middle East Journal, XVI, 4, 1962, pp.515-527.

16. Nowhere does Spillmann note the existence of this group, which is first reported in the Répertoire Alphabetique, op. cit., 1939, p.13.

17. Among the great majority of 'Atta clans camels are employed only for transport. Sheep predominate over

goats in all of northern 'Attaland, from Bu Maln and Imi̇dar north into the Atlas; in the Saghru they are about equal; and in the southern oases goats predominate. Cf. Capt. R. Monts de Savasse, MS., 'L'élevage' ...', 1951. 'Abra: the standard unit of measure for grains in southern Morocco, and although variable according to the region, it generally amounts to 12 kg.

18. Not one-half, as in the Central Rif, for analagous arrangements regarding cattle or goats.

19. Fiche de Tribu, 'Ait Bu Iknifen de Talmest, Ms. April 1953.

20. Gellner, op. cit., 1969, p.172.

21. De Monts de Savasse, Régime Foncier ...' MS., op. cit., 1951, Annex II on zones of Pasturage.

22. One of these was the father of the then (1960) amghar or shaikh of the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast who was shot by the father of an Ait Umzrai youth who was also at the time my chief assistant in the field. It transpired that neither surviving son had met the other until an accidental discovery-cum-confrontation came about and my assistant's father (deceased about 1957) had evidently complained bitterly about the amount of blood-wealth he had had to pay!

23. As it happens, the very first entry under the 'bureau' and rural commune of Zawiya Ahansal in the 1960 rural Census is 'nomads' - 189 'families' totalling 1,000 people. This figure can only refer to the transhumant Ait Bu Iknifen n-Iqibliyen, particularly as the census of that year began in June and was taken during the summer. The fact that the 'nomads' in question were not tribally identified is of course consistent with the policy of the post-Independence administration in Morocco to downgrade tribal structures; but what is of interest is the implicit recognition of the estival status quo in that these summer transhumants are registered at Zawiya Ahansal and not at their winter home bases in the 'bureaux' of Usikis-Msimrir, Bu Maln n-Dadss, Tinghir and Ikniwn to the south. Cf. Population Rurale du Maroc, op. cit., 1962, p.162.

24. Dr. Jacques-Meunie, Greniers-Citadelles au Maroc, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines, tome LII, 2 vols., Paris: Arts et Métiers

Graphiques, 1951; idem, Sites et Forteresses de l'Atlas: Monuments Montagnards du Maroc, Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1951, and idem, Architectures et Habitats du Dades: Maroc Présaharien, Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1962).

25. As also formerly in the Anti-Atlas under the name of agadir: cf. for example Robert Montagne, Un Magasin Collectif de l'Anti-Atlas l'Agadir des Ikounka, Paris: Larose, 1936.

26. In Tamazight Berber, literally 'land, country', but in the specific sense both of land belonging to the community or to any individuals, who make it up, and of country as in 'my country, your country, our country'. In Tamazight there appears to be no exact equivalent to the common Moroccan Arabic term duwwar (often Gallicised as 'douar') in the sense of village, settlement, community, although the neologism l-filaj (from Fr. Village) is now widespread over Morocco. It was known to a few members of some 'Atta groups at the time of fieldwork, although it had not yet become an integral part of the territorial vocabulary.

27. Gellner, op. cit., 1969, pp.223-236.

28. For a summary of Haratin in Casablanca, cf. Andre Adam, 'Berber Migrants in Casablanca' in E. Gellner and C. Micaud, Eds., Arabs and Berbers, op. cit., 1973, pp.325-344, esp. 326-327.

29. 'Le Regime Foncier ...' Ms., op. cit., 1951.

30. Contrary to the assertions of J.H.Jager Gerlings and D.G.Jongmans, The Ait Atta, from Nomadic to Settled Life, Royal Tropical Institute, Department of Cultural and Physical Anthropology, No. 50, Amsterdam 1955, a work which seems to ignore the fundamental dual existence imposed by transhumance. The thesis of this little study is contained in its title, and it is one which seems to me highly questionable.

31. Such as Gellner, op. cit., 1969, p.203.

32. Fernand Joly, 'Les Ait Khebbache de Tanuz, Travaux de l'Institut de Recherches Sahariennes, VII, 1951, pp.129-159.

33. Joly, op. cit., 1951, pp.152-153.

34. In a mniha relationship herders may ride or work

the camels in question and have the right to all the milk and wool that they produce; but the camels and their offspring remain the property of the original owner, who may thus never see many of his camels but who will always know them even so. See Hart, op. cit., 1962. Hilde Gauthier-Pilters has also pointed out more recently that mniha relationships exist even more characteristically on an inter-lineage or an inter-clan basis than on an inter-individual one: cf. her interesting travel book Atschana - das heisst Durst: Forschungsreise ins Nomadenland, Dusseldorf: L. Schwann Verlag, 1970, pp.135-136.

35. Joly, op. cit., 1951, pp.144-145.

36. Cited by Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.88 but cf also Denoun, Ms., op. cit., 1919, (in AGGA archives, Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence).

37. Cf. de Monts de Savasse, 'L'Elevage ...', Ms., op. cit., 1951.

38. An Ait l-First informant related that once, in French times, one man sold his turn of water to another, and they both had to go to the 'bureau' at Tinghir to sign an act to this effect. The officiating French major in the Affaires Indigènes crops objected, saying it was impossible to measure water in such a way; and my informant invited him to come up any time and see for himself how it worked. The major, astonished, wrote out the sale deed.

39. De Monts de Savasse, 'Le Régime Foncier ...', Ms., op. cit., 1951.

2 ORIGINS - LEGEND AND REALITY

As with many tribal groups in the Muslim World, the origins of the Ait 'Atta are difficult to establish with accuracy. Not only is the historical record unclear, as might be expected from a group marginal to literate society, but the Ait 'Atta also have a plethora of detailed legends to explain their own past. Yet, given the importance of the Ait 'Atta territorial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, we do have some evidence by which to evaluate the legends. First, then, we must establish what the legends actually are.

2.1 The Ait 'Atta Legends: Origin, Traditions, Function and Justification

In recent years social anthropology has made much of the myths and mythology of preliterate peoples. Since Berber is an unwritten language, the Ait 'Atta are most certainly illiterate. But they are hardly preliterate, because their inclusion in the umma - the community of Islam - presupposes an ultimate touchstone in literacy; the Qur'an and classical, written Arabic. Myth here refers to 'events which are not thought of as having happened in the past, but in a time which is sacred and which exists either beyond or side by side with profane time' (1). However, for the Ait 'Atta only profane time is relevant and hence the real issue is one of legend and origin tradition - all entirely oral - rather than myth.

The first two legends described below may truly be termed as legends of origin, while those that follow may be construed as 'historical', or at least reflections of actual known history. A short analysis of content follows each legend although detailed historical analysis will be left for the final section of this chapter.

2.1.1 A Non-'Atta Tradition: Descent from Goliath (2)

Jallut (Goliath) lived about 1200 BC and was killed by Sidna Dawud (the Biblical David). He left four sons

who emigrated to North Africa from Palestine and became the ancestors of the modern Moroccan Berbers. The eldest son, Baibi, was killed by Arabs while still a child - hence the generalised Berber dislike of Arabs.

There are three different versions of the identity of the other three sons. The first, and most inclusive, states that they were none other than Amazigh, Asusi and Arifi, the ancestors, respectively of 1) the Imazighen, the tamazight-speakers of the Middle and Central High Atlas. 2) the Ishilhayen or Isusiyen - the Susis or Swasa, the tashilhit-speakers of the Western Atlas, the Sus Valley and the Anti-Atlas, and 3) the Irifiyen, the Rifians of the Rif Mountains in the northern part of the country.

The second and third versions resemble each other more closely. The second lists the remaining three sons as Midul, ancestor of the "Zanata", who installed himself in the Western Atlas; Zulit, ancestor of the "Masmuda", who installed himself in the Sus; and 'Atta, the ancestor of the "Sinhaja", who installed himself in the Tudgha region. This third version is the most specific, for, not only does it give the sons as Midul, Malu and 'Atta but goes on to list the sons of each as follows:

1. Midul had five sons; Yihya, Agra, Murghad, Hadiddu and Yumur, ancestors of the Ait Yihya of Kardus, the Igarwan of Sidi Bu Ya'qub, the Ait Murghad, the Ait Hadiddu and Ait Yumur, the last-mentioned of whom migrated to the Marrakesh area. These are the constituent tribes of the Ait Yafalman confederacy of the Central and Eastern High Atlas.

2. Malu had six sons; Abu l-Qasim z-Zayyani, l-Yazid Ishqirni, Muhammad l-Yusi, Brahim s-Sukhman, Shaikh Mikki l-Mjildi, and Sadden Yummur, ancestors respectively, of the Zayyan, the Ishqiren, the Ait Yusi, the Ait Sukhman, the Ait Mgild and the Ait Sadden. These are the tribes of the Middle Atlas.

3. 'Atta also had six sons, Hlim, 'Azza, Khalifa, Khabbash, Sful and Mtir; ancestors respectively, of the Ait Wahlim, the Ait Y'azza, the Ait Unibgi and the Ait Khalifa, the Ait Isful and the Ait Ndir. These are the clans of the Ait 'Atta except that the Ait Ndir went north to the Middle Atlas, where one of their constituent segments bears the same name as an Ait 'Atta one, Ait Wallal. The first version is evidently taken from Ibn Khaldun, the second from Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam in the 12th century, and the third, cited by Guennoun, was recorded by Capt. Roger Henry in 1937 at the Zawiya Sidi Bu Ya'qub, near Asul in the Ait Murghad. All are completely spurious, while the convenient disposal of the mythical eldest child Baibi by an Arab in order to invoke a categorical Berber-Arab rivalry is ridiculous.

None of these beliefs held by medieval Berbers about their alleged descent from Goliath, whether widespread in

Ibn Khaldun's time or not, seem to have survived into the present (3). The same is true of the medieval categories of Berber-speaking tribal groups. These appear in the second version of the legend as "Zanata", "Masmuda" and "Sinhaja". They were adhered to by Ibn Khaldun and later misinterpreted and perpetuated by an earlier generation of French North Africanists. These categories are in no way valid today, either structurally or functionally, and very possibly were not so even in the latter Middle Ages. The ingenuity and the ingenuousness behind the all-inclusive first version, covering as it does all three major Berber language groups in Morocco while, unaccountably, those in Algeria and the Sahara are left out is impressive but inconclusive. Medieval Arab chroniclers simply did not perceive Berbers as Berbers, because they do not figure in the Qur'an. Hence they had to be accounted for through the fabrication of genealogical ties which were relevant not only to Arabic and Islamic tradition, but to its whole Judeo-Christian background.

The third version is perhaps the most modest, as it only attempts to account, genealogically, for the Imazighen group, the tamazight-speaking Berbers of the Middle Atlas, the Central High Atlas and the Saghru, and among these, for the Ait 'Atta. Ait 'Atta traditions, however, are at considerable variance with this one, for it also places them at least four centuries too far back in historical time. This tradition is now dead or moribund, and can be considered merely as a prelude to the next legend. This makes it clear that, for the Air 'Atta, their ancestor did not have only six sons, but forty. A further legend puts the origins of the Ait Yafalman, in rather a different light, particularly as they have been partly responsible for the propagation of the Goliath myth.

2.1.2 Dadda 'Atta and His Forty Grandsons

A man named 'Atta, a Berber who lived in the Saghru, had forty sons, and employed a shepherd from a neighbouring tribe, the Ait Siddrat. One day, while 'Atta saw to the simultaneous marriage of all forty of his sons, now young men, the treacherous Ait Siddrat shepherd secretly filled the barrels of their forty flintlock guns with water. He then told his fellow tribesmen to kill the unsuspecting sons of 'Atta. In due course the Ait Siddrat made a surprise night attack and 'Atta's sons rushed to their arms to find them quite unusable. By this time, however, the forty sons had spent, fortunately, two nights with their wives; and even though the Ait Siddrat killed the men, their widows were all, miraculously, left alive and, even more miraculously, had all conceived. Nine months later, the net result was thirty-nine sons and one daughter.

'Atta, now a grandfather and henceforth known as Dadda 'Atta, "Grandfather 'Atta", lived on until all his grandsons were grown up. Then, with an anger built up over the years, the grandsons and their grandfather declared unrestricted warfare against the Ait Siddrat. They pursued them right up to the Tizi n-l-'Azz Pass in the Central High Atlas, where 'Atta's mare raised her right foreleg. They all took this as a sign that they must return to their homes in the Saghru and the Ait Siddrat, following the same portent, also returned home. Thereafter, however, the descendants of Dadda 'Atta, the Ait 'Atta, were thorough-going adversaries of the Ait Siddrat. Neither group even maintained amzttid relations - relations of temporary sponsorship on a financial basis - with the other.

The real hostility between the Ait 'Atta and the Ait Yafalman, was to come later. The original hostility between the Ait 'Atta and the Ait Siddrat is much older, but the Ait Siddrat proved weak and, as the Ait 'Atta say, "We did not really want to kill all of them off". This, the first tradition which can properly be labelled as Ait 'Atta, establishes the identity of Dadda 'Atta, whom all Ait 'Atta regard as having been their common ancestor, although none can trace the actual genealogical link. The significance of this will become clear later; here the mere fact that he was a Berber from the Saghru, as his descendants are, is sufficient. He was a lay tribesman and a warrior, not a holy man. However, he had personal connections with two very influential and powerful saints, each of whom was also the founder and apical point of his own holy lineage, as will appear from two later legends.

Prima facie, his "forty sons", sound suspiciously redolent of 'Ali Baba And The Forty Thieves, in the Thousand And One Nights. Their collective marriage ceremony also seems unlikely, as does their unanimous impregnation, at first shot, so to speak, of their forty wives. In any case, it defies the normative tradition where a groom has intercourse with his bride only after the third and final night of the marriage ritual, after her own agnates have transported her to his parents' dwelling.

The number forty, nonetheless, is of considerable specific significance in Berber society at large. Here, however, its significance is more general, conveying the idea that not only were the sons of Dadda 'Atta numerous and powerful, but that his grandsons were equally so. They also acted corporately, as an agnatic lineage, to take vengeance not only from the Ait Siddrat shepherd who had betrayed their fathers, but also from a large number of his fellow tribesmen.

Two further inferences may be made. The Ait Siddrat, as a tribal entity, were probably the first enemies of the Ait 'Atta, and 'Atta expansion northward from the Saghru up into the Central High Atlas began during the lifetime of

Dadda 'Atta himself. These patterns, and other similar ones, recur frequently in most of the 'Atta legends.

2.1.3 Validation Through Saintly Protection: Dadda 'Atta and Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain

Dadda 'Atta's origins were the same as those of the Ishilhayen or Swasa - the Sus. He himself, however, was of Syrian descent.

Later he went to Marrakesh where he became a friend of the great Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain. One day, however, he lost his temper with Mulay 'Abdallah and then he argued with almost all the saints in Marrakesh. They sent Mul l-Qsur to Mulay 'Abdallah to tell him that his friend Dadda 'Atta had irritated them beyond endurance and to ask him to attend a meeting in Marrakesh where they would decide what to do.

At this meeting Mulay 'Abdallah told the assembled saints that Dadda 'Atta was his friend and would never act against him. However, he did agree to send Dadda 'Atta to the Sahara as a punishment and to remove him from Marrakesh.

Afterwards, Mulay 'Abdallah gave Dadda 'Atta one of his daughters to wife. Dadda 'Atta had several other wives as well, and sired forty sons. He died in battle against Arabs at Tuna n-I'araben ("Wells of the Arabs") in the Lower Dra Valley, the mere name of which, connotating 'Arabs' as it does, is anathema to the Ait 'Atta even today. He is buried at Taqqat n-Iliktawen, near Tagunit.

This tradition was recounted at Tin-Twurkan in the Saghru in 1961 by an informant who claimed to be 130 years old. Dadda 'Atta's alleged "Syrian" origin might then be a faint echo of the nearly defunct Goliath legend. It certainly provides a weak ancestral link with the Arab Mashriq, the near East. The postulation of the Sus as the region in which Dadda 'Atta might have grown up is very much more plausible. However, the concept still pays lip service to the common Moroccan tribal notion that half or more of their constituent segments may come from some external locality or tribe. The previous legend with its claim that Dadda 'Atta came from the Saghru is far more satisfactory.

What is of interest here is Dadda 'Atta's personal link with the sharif Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain. That the two men, the holy man and the warrior, each of whom were to found large lineages, were contemporaries and became friends and companions seems certain. Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain with his tomb at Tamsluht, only 20 kilometres southwest of Marrakesh and far to the west of 'Attaland, did become the leading saint, indeed the primary patron

saint, of the Ait 'Atta. The special relationship between the two men and their progeny is symbolised in the legend by Mulay 'Abdallah giving one of his daughters to Dadda 'Atta in marriage.

The legend also recalls the raised hoof portent of Dadda 'Atta's mare in his war against the Ait Siddrat. Mulay 'Abdallah sent one of his sons, through the Saghru and at a spot called Timjraj, half way between Igharm Amazdar and Bu Gafr, his son's mare also raised her front foreleg. Ever since, the Ait 'Atta have sworn oaths there, as Mulay 'Abdallah had instructed his son to stop wherever the mare made this sign. Again, this tradition reinforces the link between the Ait 'Atta and the descendants of Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain at Tamsluht.

The man Mul l-Qsur, who is mentioned once in the legend is a popular designation for Mulay 'Abdallah bin Ahmad al-Ghazwani from the northern Jbala region who became one of the famous seven patron saints (sib'atu rijal) of the city of Marrakesh. He died and was buried there in 1528, some forty years earlier than Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, and the first Sa'did Sultans built a magnificent mausoleum over his tomb (4). He thereby provides the Ait 'Atta with another albeit tenuous link with the Marrakesh area.

Finally, this tradition reconfirms the existence of Dadda 'Atta's forty sons. It also locates the site and circumstances of Dadda 'Atta's death and burial, and explains the historical reason for the Ait 'Atta detestation of Arabs.

2.1.4 The Continuation: Formation of the Ait Yafalman Confederacy.

The Ait Murghad, a tribe who are descended from the Portuguese, are really named Ait Ghurm Udi, "the children of butter-giving", because they traditionally gave butter to the Ait 'Atta. One day an w-'Atta (5), arrived among them and said, "Give me butter, I want to rub it on my sandals". The attendant u-Murghad said that he had none, whereupon the w-'Atta picked up his sandals and slapped the u-Murghad in the face with them.

The furious u-Murghad rushed off to tell everyone in the region what had happened, and so they all decided to form a liff (coalition), in order to attack the Ait 'Atta. This liff included the following tribes: the Ait Hadiddu, Ait Izdig, Ait Yihya, Ait 'Aisa Bu Hmar, Ait Mgild and of course the Ait Murghad. They all had an agreement drawn up to the effect that they would find anafalman (6) or peace, through vengeance on the Ait 'Atta, and they would never again give butter to the latter. Thus was formed the confederacy of the Ait Yafalman, which thenceforth attacked the Ait 'Atta. There has been a state of open warfare and unrelenting hostility between the two groups ever since.

A tradition of "Portuguese" descent on the part of certain segments of certain tribes, occurs throughout Berber-speaking Morocco and down into the Western Sahara (7). It really indicates the deep impression the Portuguese occupation of the Atlantic coast of Morocco in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries left on local tribesmen simply because so many mujahidin (fighters for Islam), came from the interior to combat them. In the Moroccan tribal world the pseudo-historical fact of "Portuguese colonialism" is accepted as genuine history, and in parts of the interior where no Portuguese ever penetrated, any man-made or natural object which has a patently pre- or non-Islamic appearance tends to be shrugged off as "Portuguese". Hence it is an insult to refer to a tribe or a tribal segment as ait or ulad l-burtqiz, a term applied on occasion to the Ait Murghad.

The etymological equation of the Ait Murghad with ait ghurm udi is less easy, however. It is obviously a popular etymology but cannot be dismissed out of hand, as metathesis is a common linguistuc phenomenon in Berber and in Moroccan Arabic. The significance of butter as such, may not be readily apparent or even very great; but certainly the inferred normalcy of giving butter by the Ait Murghad to the Ait 'Atta, and their refusal to comply with the 'Atta demand on this occasion, clearly indicate that they stood formerly in a subservient relationship to the Ait 'Atta. This at least, was the view of the latter, who also saw their own dominance as previously uncontested.

It is appropriate at this point to invoke another tradition, from the Ait Yafalman, which states that Midul was their ancestor. He had five sons, Hadiddu, Izdig, Yihya, Agra and Yumur who became the ancestors of the Ait Hadiddu, Ait Izdig, Ait Yihya (at Tunfit) Igarwan (near Maknes) and Ait Yumur (near Marrakesh). The legend states that the Ait Murghad are not true sons of Midul or true Yafalman, as they joined the latter at a later date. This suggests, as the 'Atta legend also does, that the Ait Yafalman confederacy was formed at the instigation of Ait Murghad outsiders, and that the overall name Ait Yafalman was not adopted until after its formation. As the various etymologies of the name invoke the notion of peace, they are probably reasonably accurate. What is important is that the Ait Murghad were the leading force in the confederacy and that they became the major enemies of the Ait 'Atta.

2.1.5 The Call From the North: Dadda 'Atta and Sidi Sa'id Ahansal

When his troubles began with his neighbours, Sidi Sa'id Ahansal, a young Berber saint either from the Haha, the Sus or the Anti-Atlas had only recently settled in his

new home. This was later to become the Zawiya Ahansal and was located in the Central Atlas whither he had wandered all the way from Safi (8), a distance of some 300 kms.

Sidi Sa'id, who already had the marks of greatness, had three tribes as neighbours, the Ait Tagilla, the Ait Ughzu, and the Ait Wassar (9). His object was to get rid of all of them - peacefully, as he was, by definition, a peaceful saint. As the Ait Tagilla had given him a little land, he repaid them by installing them in a place where there was sufficient water for maize to grow without irrigation. The land in question, possibly in the Ntifa tribal territory betwen Azilal and Tanant, where the Ait Tagilla are to be found today, was already occupied by other people, who objected strenuously. Sidi Sa'id sent an army of jnun, jinns, to decimate them, while the Ait Tagilla, marvelling at Sidi Sa'id's baraka, his prodigious miracle-working ability, watched on the sidelines. Then they took over their new land and presumably lived happily ever after.

There remained, however, the Ait Ughzu and the Ait w-Assar, who were cave-dwelling "Portuguese" like the Ait Murghad who were, it seems, far less easily mollified. It was they whom Sidi Sa'id had found at the actual site of the zawiya-to-be. He had asked them for food, and they rudely replied that if he wished to eat with them, he had to take his donkey up to the roof and eat with it. So Sidi Sa'id recited a verse of the Qur'an, and instantaneously his donkey was on the roof. The curiosity of the Ait Ughzu and the Ait w-Assar was aroused, and next day, after spending the night with them, Sidi Sa'id bought a small house and a few fields, and subsequently married a woman of the Ait 'Atta. But the Ait Ughzu and the Ait w-Assar continued to make trouble for him, and their cows ate up all his harvest.

It was only after Sidi Sa'id (or possibly his great-grandson, Sidi Lahsin w-'Atman) sent a lion to eat their animals that the people of the two cantankerous tribes left his fields alone. Now Sidi Sa'id told the Ait Ughzu and the Ait w-Assar that they must leave without further ado. Furious, they refused. So Sidi Sa'id played his trump card: as he had an Ait 'Atta wife, he called on Dadda 'Atta and his grandsons to come and help him form a coalition (liff or mhamya) in order to chase them out.

His appeal, however, was telepathic and Dadda 'Atta's response was not immediate, as it took him seven years, seven months, seven days and seven hours just to arrive, at a point known as Amarhun (lit. "hostage"). Between Amarhun and Zawiya Ahansal, where Sidi Sa'id was, there was a roaring river over which Dadda 'Atta could not cross. He grew impatient after only three days of waiting, and yelled at Sidi Sa'id that he was about to leave. Sidi Sa'id reminded him gently how very long he himself had waited.

He then waved his stick and the river dried up instantly. So Dadda 'Atta and his grandsons, duly impressed, crossed the river bed dry-shod.

Sidi Sa'id then told Dadda 'Atta the reason why he had appealed to him. Dadda 'Atta replied that chasing out the Ait Ughzu and the Ait w-Assar was a simple task, one which the Ait 'Atta then performed with ease, although the Ait w-Assar, "Portuguese" and "Christians" to the end, blocked up all the local springs with wool before leaving the country.

Now Sidi Sa'id and Dadda 'Atta together made a covenant ('ahd) and the former asked the latter what he wanted in payment for his services. Dadda 'Atta replied that all he needed was grass for his sheep, no land or anything else, and permission to come and graze his sheep regularly every year.

This permission was readily granted, and Dadda 'Atta was asked to select his preferred area of pasturage - the Tizi n-Ilisi Pass. Documents were drawn up but although they stated then that land use was to be for grazing only, it was realised after the death of the two principals that Sidi Sa'id Ahansal had in fact given the Ait 'Atta the land. The repercussions from this fact, as we have seen, continue annually and unabated to the present day.

Sidi Sa'id Ahansal was the founder and apex of the Ihansalen lineage of Central Atlas saints or igurramen, the principal saintly lineage in that area. The role, structure and organization of the zawiya which bears his name has been ably described by Gellner (10). Sidi Sa'id Ahansal is the second saint in importance to the Ait 'Atta after Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain. Those Ait 'Atta (the majority) south of Bu Maln n-Dadss traditionally gravitate toward Mulay 'Abdallah, while those based north of this point (the minority) traditionally gravitate toward Sidi Sa'id.

Although Sidi Sa'id Ahansal, like Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, is held to be a descendant of the Prophet, it is not entirely coincidental that his immediate origins go back to the Sus - as do Dadda 'Atta's own in at least one legend - for the Sus, in Morocco, has always been considered to produce miracle-working saints and diviners in prodigious numbers. Even Dadda 'Atta, although just a lay tribesman could have basked in a modicum of reflected glory.

Of more immediate interest, however, are the three proto-tribes in the area, the Ait Tagilla (or Tagla), the Ait Ughzu and the Ait w-Assar. As Gellner argues, only the Ait Tagilla represent a real grouping: the Ait Ughzu are clearly mythical and the Ait w-Assar are probably so (11). Neither name survives today, even as that for a tribal segment, a fact which suggests that neither group was incorporated by its neighbours. Individual absorption rather than group incorporation is what must have occurred.

The crux of the legend is Sidi Sa'id summons of Dadda

'Atta and his grandsons. There is no question but that the Ait 'Atta derived tremendous advantges from the agreement. The result was that several sections of Ait 'Atta came north from the Saghru to settle and to establish colonies on the south slope of the Central Atlas. Others settled around the pasturage area in the Central Atlas which had been designated by Sidi Sa'id for them, and even further north, into the area occupied today by the Ait Mhand and on to the very fringes of the Middle Atlas at Bin l-Widan. Ait 'Atta expansion to the north was in full swing, and its concomitant patterns of clan discontinuity and reduplication began to emerge. As Gellner remarks, the terms of cooperation between the common ancestor of the incoming transhumants, Dadda 'Atta, and the founding ancestor of the local Ihansalen saints, Sidi Sa'id, were concluded in the transhumant idiom, crucial to the former, of grass and sheep. The warrior provided the temporal and the saint the spiritual arm, 'and between them they established the present status quo' (12). Very grave complications resulted, however, from the later ratification of this status quo, in documentary form, through the aegis of Sidi Sa'id's great-grandson, Sidi Lahsin w-'Atman, and his famous Land Deed of 1598. These will be discussed later.

2.2 Legends of the Ait 'Atta Expansion

Quite apart from the legends dealing with the origins of the Ait 'Atta, a further set of traditions deal with the way in which the Ait 'Atta expanded from their Saghru base. It is to these that we turn to now.

2.2.1 The Construction of the Zawiya of Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain at Tamsluht

The Almoravid Sultan Yusuf ibn Tashfint (Ibn Tashfin), the founder of Marrakesh, took all the Ait 'Atta there with him in order to build the Zawiya of Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain of Tamsluht. Each Ait 'Atta clan provided some element of construction - the Ait Y'azza gave mules, the Ait Bu Iknifen gave horses, the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim and the Ilimshan gave men, the Ignawen gave women, the Ait Unibgi gave camels. Mulay 'Abdallah told the Ait Unibgi that they would always be well off in their eastern corner of 'Attaland. They would never become despised sedentary agriculturalists, and would always be somewhat apart from the rest of the Ait 'Atta. They still are, and some of them, they say, own as many as three hundred camels each.

The Ait Isful, however, when asked by Mulay 'Abdallah why they did not give anything, replied, "We are nothing",

to which the saint retorted, "And thus you will remain".

This legend is typical in an area of 'Attaland in which the Ait Isful clan are not liked. It also indicates the strong spiritual attachment which the Ait 'Atta feel for Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, for Tamsluht is a good 300 km west of even the closest Ait 'Atta settlement. Finally, Yusuf ibn Tashfin, who founded Marrakesh in 1062 AD, lived five hundred years earlier than Mulay 'Abdallah, so they were not contemporaries even in the remotest way. Nonetheless, this shows how Moroccan and Berber tribesmen tend to hold a fused view of historical time in which only those national figures such as Sultans who have transcended the test of history to survive as legendary figures are worthy of remembrance.

2.2.2 The Silver Horseshoe

At the time of Sultan Mulay Isma'il, the founder of Meknes (13), 'Amamu, the shaikh of the sedentary negroid date-harvesting Haratin of the Ktawa district near the bend of the Dra River, was feeling very oppressed by the onerous 'protection' of his nomadic Arab tribal patrons. He was well off and had heard of the powerful Ait 'Atta in the Saghru, so he rode off to solicit their protection. On arrival he asked a blacksmith to shoe his horse. The latter raised the horse's hoof and found a silver horseshoe. 'Amamu gave him several golden nails for it, saying, "this is our custom". The astonished smith called over his equally astonished Ait 'Atta masters. Bowled over by such magnificence and attracted by promises subsequently made in writing on gazelle skin, the Ait 'Atta gave their support to 'Amamu and went to his country with a war party. They pushed back the Saharans without difficulty: the Ghnanmma went back to the desert while most of the Bni Mhammad submitted.

Then the Ait 'Atta drew straws to see which of their clans would take over the guardianship of the Ktawa. The Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim of the Ait Wahlim won and installed themselves in the Ktawa and in neighbouring districts to the north and south of the Fazwata and Mhamid. But after a while another Arab group, the Ulad Sultan, expelled them. The rest of the Ait 'Atta returned, crushed the Ulad Sultan and, to avoid repetition, installed another of their clans, the Ait Isful, in one of the main qsur of the Fazwata.

The Ait 'Atta zealously protected the Ktawa area although rivalry soon developed between the Ait Isful and the Ait Wahlim. At the same time another clan, the Ait 'Alwan surrounded the oasis and took over a smaller domain to the southeast. There was much fighting but the Ait Isful emerged victorious and took most of the Ait Wahlim positions away from them.

In this tradition legend merges into known history, some of it quite recent. It establishes the basis of the protection given by those Ait 'Atta who expanded south of the Saghru over the local negroid Haratin. The Haratin, also known as Drawa, the inhabitants of the Dra, represent a very old population in pre-Saharan oases. As will be discussed in Chapter VI, the patronage-clientage relationship between the 'Atta and the Haratin - created by 'invitation' of the latter and through sacrifice to the former - assumed its most characteristic form in the Upper Dra Valley. However, not all Haratin communities there were so protected. Protection, where it did exist, gave rise to a promise of social, political and racial inequality which became the hallmark of the whole relationship. In the Ktawa, the Ait Isful clan finally exonerated itself from the mild scorn in which it was held in the rest of 'Attaland'.

2.2.3 The 'Ait 'Atta of the Shade

The ancestor of the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu - the Ait 'Atta of the Shade - of the Middle Atlas, from the south arrived at Wawizakht, on the edge nine centuries ago. He and his progeny were the northern advance guard, against the Arab tribes of the Tadla Plain and other local Berber tribes of the Ait 'Atta who only arrived at Wawizakht in force in the eleventh century AH (seventeenth century AD). On this occasion each Ait 'Atta clan in the Saghru gave members to go north and fight the Ait w-Assar, whom they chased out. They divided their land, between the lineages of the participant warriors.

The Ait 'Atta n-Umalu, or Ait 'Atta of the Shade, are so-called because they live on the northern shaded slope, on the main central Atlas watershed, unlike the rest who are based on the southern sunny slope. They are indeed, as the tradition says, the advance guard of the Ait 'Atta to the north, and they are completely discontinuous, territorially, from the main body of the tribe. The estimated date of arrival of their ancestor is far too early, but the date of 'Atta colonization of this region, which occurred between 1625 and 1675 (14), is reasonably accurate. Nonetheless, once again the near-mythical Ait w-Assar, now gone without a trace, surface in the tradition. The Ait 'Atta n-Umalu were almost certainly the first 'Atta to come into contact with military expeditions of Moroccan central government under the sultans of the present, 'Alawit dynasty.

2.2.4 Traditional 'Ait 'Atta Contacts with the Makhzan

The first Moroccan Sultan to have any contact with the

Ait 'Atta was the notorious "Black Sultan", the Sultan al-Kahal (15) who cut the ears off forty recalcitrant Ait 'Atta. This is one reason, among others, for the Ait 'Atta detestation of blacks, which continues to this day.

Considerably later, during the time of Mulay Isma'il, Ait 'Atta were continually involved in fighting the Arabs to the north. On one occasion, Isma'il decided to invade the Saghru in order to chastise this extremely recalcitrant tribe. However, one w-'Atta who was living in Marrakesh got wind of his plans, and, removing his turban in a gesture of shame, asked the saint Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain to help his tribal clients. Mulay 'Abdallah agreed at once. So snow began to fall, and as the Arabs in Mulay Isma'il's army did not know how to walk in it, they all perished. Such was the baraka of Mulay 'Abdallah, the Ait 'Atta patron saint.

In the past Ait 'Atta contacts with the Moroccan central government the Makhzan and with most other Berbers in the Middle and Central High Atlas, were generally sanguinary as shown by the historical record and by tradition. Again, it was probably Mulay Isma'il rather than the "Black Sultan" who cut off eighty Ait 'Atta ears to adorn the walls of his palace in Meknes; but then Isma'il himself had black genes as well. Legend, too, indicates that the Ait 'Atta defeated his army by magical means, through the intervention of Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, while history maintains that he gave the Ait 'Atta a trouncing in the Saghru in 1678, just over a century after the death of Mulay 'Abdallah.

Nonetheless, the overall picture of the historical vicissitudes of the Ait 'Atta which their legends offer shows extremely close parallels to what is known of their actual history and it is to the historical record that we now turn.

2.3 The Historical Record

Regrettably, the historical record is nowhere near as deep as tradition. Nonetheless, on one crucial historical fact the record is clear. By the seventeenth century, a generalised movement of Berber tribes in a southeasterly and northwesterly direction, from the desert across the Central Atlas to the Middle Atlas and even the Gharb, had begun. The origin of the Völkerwanderung probably lay in drought, famines and epidemics in the South, certainly during the mid-eighteenth century, and a growing awareness of the existence of adequate grazing land further north (16). It was still going on when the French arrived, although their appearance arrested the movement of the northernmost tribes of this Berber spearhead, such as the Zimmur, at the Ma'mura forest on the southern edge

of the Atlantic plain of the Gharb.

2.3.1 The Sinhaja Brabar Push Northwest and the Ait 'Atta

This historical push of the "Sinhaja Brabar" or "Sinhajan" Berber tribes (17), as the Central and Middle Atlas sheep transhumants were called in the literature as the result of French misinterpretations of original errors made by Ibn Khaldun, is generally accepted to have occurred. Less generally known is Lesne's thesis that the Zimmur who were in the vanguard of the movement had themselves been nomadic or transhumant shepherds in the Saghru some seven or eight hundred years earlier (18). An Arabic document at Sidi Bu Kil in the Upper Ziz Valley, dated 365 AH (975-967 AD), mentions their passage, followed by that of the Zayyan, at the time. The same document adds that they were "followed by some Ait 'Atta clans, which later became the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu" (19).

Just when Ait 'Atta movement occurred is not clear, although it is evident that the Ait 'Atta only participated at the end of this drawnout northwestern migratory push for pasturage, because their formation as a separate entity is quite recent. It could not have occurred before the mid-sixteenth century, and may well have been slightly later (20). By analogy, then, the same date can be assigned to Dadda 'Atta, for whom in fact there otherwise exists only a tomb. Exact dates are associated with the two saints Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain and Sidi Sa'id Ahansal, although those connected with Mulay 'Abdallah seem to be more solidly grounded than those connected with Sidi Sa'id.

There is always a readiness on the part of Dadda 'Atta's descendants to invoke the name of their supertribal ancestor and to glorify his exploits. This is only natural, for he must have been a remarkable man. Yet his tomb is most unpretentious. It is located at Taqqat n-Iliktawen, overlooking a stony, sandy gorge in the l-Ktawa region, south of Zagura in the Upper Dra Valley. It is about 25 km north of Tagunit and just off the far side of the qsar of Iliktawen which gave the area its name but which, even though it postdates the tomb, is now in ruins.

The tomb itself, rectangular in shape, is made of mud and stone masonry and measures approximately 2.50 metres by 2.50 metres by 5.50 metres. On its eastern side there is a small entrance one metre square. Inside is the grave of Dadda 'Atta, who was supposed to have been extremely tall, for the headstone is at one end and the footstone is all the way down at the other and a Muslim grave must only be just longer than its occupant according to the Ait 'Atta. The body of Dadda 'Atta lies on its right side, with the head facing Mecca.

Dadda 'Atta's tomb is not visited by many people today. It is located in an extremely isolated area but formerly, before the settlement of Iliktawen fell into ruins, the tomb was apparently visited, by all the Ait 'Atta between September and December, before they left in January and February on transhumance toward the Saghru and Ikniwn. However, the area round Taqqat n-Iliktawen is uninhabited today, and is said to be full of thieves (21).

A more striking contrast to the tomb of Dadda 'Atta than that of Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, in the Idrisid Zawiya of the Shurfa Amghariyin at Tamsluht, could hardly be found. This is a true Zawiya in the urban tradition, a minor triumph of Muslim architecture with a glittering and sloping tiled roof, the three balls or jamur of the mosque minaret at its peak, and the body of the saint in a raised interior catafalque (tabut) covered over by a green kiswa cloth (22). Even in death Mulay 'Abdallah exudes saintliness while Dadda 'Atta, supposedly killed in battle against Arabs, exudes lay tribalism.

Nonetheless, the mere name Amghariyin, an Arabized derivative of Berber amghar (notable), suggests Berber roots too. This is despite Mulay 'Abdallah's otherwise well-substantiated genealogy back to Mulay Idris I, the founder of the Idrisid dynasty in Morocco, and then back to Lalla Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad. Even though Drague makes it clear that the genealogy is spiritual rather than physical leading through the Sufi mystic Ash-Shadili (1175-1258) back to the Prophet (23), the correspondence between the two is virtually exact.

2.3.2 Dates of origin

This question of genealogical dating raises the much more fundamental one of actual dating. There are no dates extant for Dadda 'Atta himself, but there is one for the Ait 'Atta as such. The earliest alleged mention by a European source, in 1571, is "Ytata" (24), and there are four other concrete dates for Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain - 1557-58 (965 AH), when he supposedly received his baraka, and three different death dates: 1668-69 (976 AH), 1571-72 (979 AH) and 1591-92 (999 AH) (25). Finally, there is the date of May-June 1598 (Shawwal 1006 AH), the date of the Land Deed at Zawiya Ahansal, drawn up by Sidi Lahsin w-'Atman, the grandson of Sidi Sa'id Ahansal, and translated by Ithier (26). Interestingly, among the six groups selling the land in question to Sidi Lahsin w-'Atman there are, once again, both the Ait Tagilla and the Ait w-Assar.

The feature of great interest with these dates is that they fall within the second half of the sixteenth century and are too close to each other to permit any major error

or to be spurious. The death of Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain can definitely be assigned to the period of 1568 to 1592, and hence there seems little doubt that Dadda 'Atta was alive either just prior to or during at least part of this time. In addition, Sidi Sa'id Ahansal could not have been long dead if his grandson was to purchase a substantial piece of land in 1598 (27). By 1571, the date given by Marmol, Dadda 'Atta may also have seen his own grandsons grown to manhood.

But this is not all, since two later dates emerge from the Ait Yafalman. One is a documented agreement, in Arabic, between the saintly lineage of the Ait Sidi Bu Ya'qub, (presently located within the tribal territory of the Ait Murghad) and the lay Ait Murghad and Ait Hadiddu tribes dated 1632, and the other is an agreement, dated 1645, according the protection of the Ait Yafalman - compromising the tribes of the Ait Murghad, Ait Yihya, Ait Izdig and Ait Hadiddu - to the Ait Sidi Bu Ya'qub (28). The date of 1645, as that of the federation of the Ait Yafalman, is of very great interest, and seems to have been generally accepted. As we have seen in the legends the Ait Murghad are regarded as former clients or vassals of the Ait 'Atta who broke away to form a rival coalition to check the latter's expansion. It is evident that the proliferation and expansion of the new tribe constituted by Dadda 'Atta's grandsons was already developing by leaps and bounds.

2.3.3 Origins of the Ait 'Atta

It is appropriate here to dispose of a very questionable but nonetheless prevalent notion that the Ait 'Atta originated in the Sahara and are known as "The Ait 'Atta of the Sahara". That not all Ait 'Atta clans were descended from Dadda 'Atta and that some represented incorporations of external elements is probable, but to state baldly as Spillmann and others do, that they are all of Saharan origin (29), when it was only in the late eighteenth century at the very earliest that they began to establish themselves in the pre-Saharan oases south of the Saghru, is manifestly absurd. Duclos is probably right in claiming that a few clans such as the Msuffa, Ilahyan and Ignawen are of "Saharan", though presumably still Berber, origin and that the Ait 'Alwan at Mhamid are of Arab descent (30). However, the virtually unanimous 'Atta belief is that their point of origin and their heartland is the Saghru massif itself, from whence they radiated out in all directions.

This is the only interpretation that makes sense. The evidence, based on what seems eminently sound Ait 'Atta reasoning, is as follows: When Dadda 'Atta and his

immediate progeny spent their formative years in the Saghru, all they knew were tents and a restricted form of sheep nomadism. They also had mules, horses, baggage camels, flintlock guns, called bu shfar, and knives. Their horses and their armament they deemed to be essential in attack; if one man loaded his bu shfar to fire on another, the latter, if wounded, could jump him before he had time to reload.

In other words, pastoralism and war were cardinal virtues. The Ait 'Atta have always looked down upon agriculture, which only became an integral part of their existence when they spread out from the Saghru and adopted the idea of using permanent houses, from the sedentary agricultural Haratin inhabitants of the areas into which they moved. It has already been indicated that generally their patronage and even suzerainty over these Haratin came about as a result of an "invitation" by the latter to come and protect them against other over-ambitious protectors.

Another basic French misconception over the Ait 'Atta is their unfounded yet steadfast adherence to the mistaken ideas that the Ait 'Atta constitute a "confederacy". This is the case for the Ait Yafalman, who have been shown to have formed a coalition explicitly in order to halt the expansion of the Ait 'Atta (31) but it is manifestly not the case for the Ait 'Atta themselves.

The Ait 'Atta, to the contrary, are anything but a haphazard collection of heterogeneous clans, as is typical of many, indeed most, Moroccan tribes. They are a supertribe, banking on, counting on and glorying in their descent from Dadda 'Atta, a claim which they all recognise, some more vociferously than others, even though no single one of their clans is actually able to validate or prove it genealogically. But the fervour of their belief makes for ideological validation of their claim; and from ideological to structural and functional validation is but a short step. Furthermore, the notion of supertribe does no violence to history, favours a quantum theory of 'Atta development and is more in accord with the present distribution, social structure, politics and ideology of the Ait 'Atta.

2.3.4 'Atta Expansionism

The only theory which fits the known facts of Ait 'Atta expansion is one invoking a kind of quantum explosion of Dadda 'Atta's descendants over South-Central Morocco. The first direction in which the Ait 'Atta went was north, to the Central Atlas across the Tizi Mqqurn Pass. In this move their special relationship with their patron saint Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain was apparent for he had assured them that the Sultan would never exercise authority

over them, they would never be afflicted with syphilis, and Tizi Mqqurn, over which they would transhume, would be eternally free from ambushes by the Ait Murghad, Ait Hadiddu, Ait Siddrat or Ait Massad (32). It seems likely that the first group to become established in the north was the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu vanguard on the fringes of the Middle Atlas at Wawizakht. They certainly moved north ahead of the main body, quite early on as today they are excluded from any pasturage rights in the Central High Atlas, rights which are shared by all the many 'Atta segments who are resident there or who come up regularly on transhumance from the south.

It seems probable that once the Ait 'Atta had established their foothold in the Central Atlas and had entrenched a contingent of the Ait Bu Iknifen clan at the Tizi n-Ilisi near Zawiya Ahansal and further contingents from the same clan and two others, the Ait Y'azza and the Ait Unibgi, at Msimrir and Usikis on the south slope of the watershed, the next direction in which they moved, although not very far, was west. The Ait Wallal at l-Qal'mguna and the very small and discontinuous group of the Nsula at Fum Zgid well to the southwest of the Saghru may really represent more aberrant currents of their next series of major moves southwards from the Saghru down to the pre-Saharan oases of the Dra.

If the Ait 'Atta did not begin to move north towards the Atlas until late in the first half of the seventeenth century, then it seems probable that their initial moves to the south did not occur until the first half of the eighteenth century (33). Niclausse gives 1630 as the date of the written act between Ait 'Atta nomads and sedentary Haratin over the donation by the former to the latter of the qsar of Ulad Yusif in the Ktawa. This may be early, however, as the next three dates he gives for qsar and land donations and litigations in the same area are 1770, 1797 and 1801 (34). In the Mhamid, the earliest such donation does not occur until 1844. In all cases, until French pacification of the region, it was the resident Haratin who "invited" the transhumant Ait 'Atta to protect them, either from the exactions of previous protectors or from those of other groups of Ait 'Atta, through ritual sacrifice of an animal (dbiha). It was the Haratin, too, who "consented" to make a donation in land just outside the qsar to the protecting group. The whole history of the region is one of the ousting of the former, largely Arab, protectors by the Ait 'Atta and then of a power struggle between the various 'Atta clans now resident in the area to maintain a precarious equilibrium. The equilibrium was one where Haratin groups reserved the right to change protecting groups through further sacrifices if the first group's protection became too onerous. The result was that the Ait Isful became dominant in the Ktawa and the

Ait 'Alwan in the Mhamid. Finally, the Ait 'Atta moved eastward to the oasis of Tafilalt and from there down to Tawuz and the Kamkam.

2.3.5 The Ait 'Atta and the Makhzan

Ait 'Atta conquest of the territory which fell to them in their moves out of the Saghru was often strongly opposed, both in the north and the east, both by the Ait Yafalman confederacy and by the Moroccan makhzan, whenever the latter was under a strong Sultan. Some authorities argue that Ait Yafalman were formed at makhzan instigation. Just as the Ait 'Atta themselves had been formed in the late sixteenth century to "break the Arab yoke", so the Ait Yafalman were formed in the mid-seventeenth on makhzan initiative to check Ait 'Atta power (35). Hence the hostility of the Ait 'Atta to the 'Alawids, the reigning dynasty, was very strong, for the legend of the eighty 'Atta ears had not been forgotten. Until their pacification by the French, the Ait 'Atta were an integral part of the blad s-siba, the fluctuating but essentially Berber tribal core of Morocco, which although admitting spiritual authority of the Sultan, paid taxes to them as seldom as possible (36). Even today any allusion to the pre-protectorate period is couched in terms of gi l-uqt n-siba, "in the time of anarchy, dissidence".

The first major clash between the Ait 'Atta and forces of Mulay Isma'il came in 1678, after several brothers and cousins of the Sultan, supported by the Ait 'Atta, revolted against him. The legend that the Ait 'Atta smashed Mulay Isma'il's troops after a very hard combat in the Saghru on February 3, 1679, is not unsupported by Terrasse, who informs us that the makhzan gained a "difficult victory" that day, while de la Chapelle admits that the commander of the makhzan troops from Fez and 400 of his men perished (37). Brignon et al say that during the Sultan's army's return to Marrakesh it was surprised and dispersed by a snow storm at the Tizi n-Tishka, "after which Mulay Isma'il no longer worried about the Ait 'Atta" (38).

This incident was to be fairly typical of large-scale 'Atta-makhzan confrontations over the next hundred-odd years. Thus, it is surprising to note that in 1788, during the reign of Mulay Muhammad bin 'Abdallah (1757-1790), a number of Ait 'Atta were brought from the Tafilalt, where they had only recently been installed, up to Tangier in order to make sailors out of them. The experiment was unsuccessful, and they were eventually returned home, where they joined their brethren in exacting heavy tolls and tributes on camel caravans going from there to the Tuwat Oasis. Indeed the tolls were so heavy that because of them and because of droughts no caravans went to Tuwat

at all for a seventeen-year period during the eighteenth century (39).

After further unsuccessful expeditions by Mulay 'Abdallah in the Dra in 1730 and by his son Mulay Muhammad in the Tafilalt in 1757, a much more energetic campaign was undertaken by Mulay Sliman (1792-1822) in 1816. He pushed the Ait 'Atta back into the Saghru from the eastern oases and did so with much savagery, "cutting off 1600 heads, without counting those taken by my troops" (40) and destroying their houses, livestock, trees and grain reserves without a single man of his own troops killed. A letter of October 11, 1816, sent by the governor of Tangier to all foreign consuls there records that the king "ordered the governor-general and the sub-governors of the province of 'Aytayta', to the number of 15, to be executed in the following manner: "4 to be sawn between boards, 4 to have hands and feet cut off, 4 to have one hand and one foot only amputated, and three to be decapitated" (41). The figure of 1600 is no doubt exaggerated, but the heaviness of the reprisal on the part of the makhzan seems an indication of the degree to which the Ait 'Atta had become a problem.

By the late eighteenth century Ait 'Atta contingents were already in the Tafilalt. Some of the Ait Khabbash clan are reported as early as 1784-85 and many more came throughout the nineteenth century, when the continuous Ait 'Atta battles with the Ait Yafalman reached their peak. However, in about 1850 the Ait Hadiddu and the Ait Murghad jointly drove the Ait 'Atta out of the Amdghus-Imdghas regions, which have since then become an Ait Yafalman counterfort above the Ait 'Atta stronghold of Usikis-Msimrir on the southern slope of the Central Atlas (42). But, for most of the time, the Ait 'Atta really had the upper hand. During the nineteenth century, through the efforts of the Ait Khabbash, the huge region between the Lower Ziz River and Tuwat oasis became very largely an 'Atta sphere of influence (43).

For instance, in 1818 the Ait 'Atta, during a fight with the Ait Izdig, captured or destroyed Sijilmasa, then a town in decline but nonetheless the most important in the Tafilalt, and the major northern centre for the trans-Saharan caravan trade (44). In 1844 the Ait 'Atta were too busy fighting the Ait Yafalman to pay heed to a request by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859) that they supply contingents to fight French encroachment on the Algerian-Moroccan border in the north for the Battle of Isli (45).

In turning a deaf ear to the injunctions of the makhzan, the Ait 'Atta continued to remain, as ever, in full siba, and in 1854 they went to war again against the Ait Yafalman, who, even though they were supported by the local shurfa, were beaten. Terrasse records that the Ait

'Atta chief, one Brahim Izimar, soon became the major personality in the southeastern oases, and the Sultan, in the hopes of using him, conferred, in classic style and by dahir or decree, governmental investiture upon him. But Brahim soon rejected governmental authority, and defeated troops sent against him. However, the Sultan succeeded in having him assassinated. This could hardly have led to any improvement in 'Atta-makhzan relations, while relations between the makhzan and the Ait Yafalman must have been cordial.

In the spring of 1883, however, de Foucauld records that a violent battle took place between the Ait 'Atta and the Ait Murghad over the possession of the qsar and oasis of Tulwin, near Gulmima and the Ghris River. The former, with 8,000 on foot and 600 horsemen (46), were outnumbered by the latter, with 12,000 men on foot and 700 horsemen. The Ait 'Atta left 1,600 dead on the field, while the Ait Murghad only lost 400, and took over the qsar. De Foucauld notes that this sanguinary encounter took place after a year's truce, because the Ait 'Atta had already taken Gulmima itself and several other qsur from the Ait Murghad some thirty years earlier. De Foucauld indeed learned on his arrival at Gulmima shortly afterward that not only did the Ait Murghad want to take it back, but that the Ait 'Atta had raided one of their caravans that very same day (April 30, 1884) (47). By the time the French arrived, however, Gulmima was again under Ait Murghad control, and the nearest resident 'Atta were the Ait Khalifa at Mil'ab and Marrutsha.

The episode occurred during the reign of a strong, active and energetic Sultan, Mulay al-Hasan I (1873-1894), and although it represented another temporary setback to Ait 'Atta power in the southeast, the 'Atta juggernaut was not to be stopped. We are fortunate to possess a fascinating eye-witness account of Ait 'Atta expansion to the east during Mulay al-Hasan's famous last expedition to the Tafilalt oases in 1893, just before his death, in the form of an excellent article by Dr Fernand Linarès, MD., the Sultan's personal physician (48). In his diary for November 1893, Linarès notes:-

> "I was told today that the Sultan is very worried over the Darqawa-Ait 'Atta question, and I am not surprised, because the situation as described in conversation by Moroccan friends on several occasions is a most pressing one. The Ait 'Atta are invading, little by little but continuously, the Tafilalt region. The least quarrel or the smallest dispute between a Filali and an 'Attawi means the beginning of an armed struggle in which the Ait 'Atta group, more warlike and more compact than the Filali one, always has the upper hand. The price of victory is the

> takeover, by the conquerors, of the qsar of the conquered. Today Mulay al-Hasan took note of this disturbing state of affairs. It is most urgent to oppose, if possible, a solid dyke against the mounting wave of Ait 'Atta toward the north. A transplantation of 200 Ait 'Atta tents southeast of the Tafilalt has been proposed, in order to weaken the invasion to some extent, but this solution does not seem to me a radical one. We shall see!" (49).

Although it seems clear that Mulay al-Hasan, fearing a gradual French threat from Algeria, wanted to parley with the Ait 'Atta, Linarès goes on to note, on November 4, 1893, that four further qsur (Ulad Yihya, Bu Sa'idu, Zawiya Amilkis and Jramna) had by then been taken over by the Ait 'Atta and their inhabitants evicted by force (50). The Ait 'Atta, furthermore, had no regard for the fact that a good many of the qsur were inhabited by shurfa, as Linarès diary for November 28 states that the Ait 'Atta who today occupy the oases of Mil'ab, Marrutsha and Igli did so precisely by forcing out former shurfa occupants (51). However, these were 'Alawid rather than Idrisid shurfa (the two major lines of shurfa in Morocco) and hence bore only tangential kinship to the 'Atta saint, Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, despite their dynastic legitimacy. Linarès records the gradual usurpation of qsur in the Tudgha region by the Ait 'Atta from the Haratin of the Ahl Tudgha, who became "submerged" by the Berber invaders. As early as the 1830s the same thing, he says, had happened to the Haratin in the Dadss Valley (52).

2.3.6 Ait 'Atta Expansionism

This almost systematic takeover of qsur by the Ait 'Atta moving eastwards nicely pinpoints the time and the manner in which they added to those contingents which had already been in the Tafilalt since the late eighteenth century. The usurpation of qsur, intimidation and subjection of Haratin, eviction of shurfa, disregard for the makhzan and outright fighting with the Ait Yafalman were the techniques which the Ait 'Atta employed, and they proved remarkably successful. As Dunn aptly puts it, the Ait 'Atta expansion in southeastern Morocco was a striking example of "Berber Imperialism" (53).

The success of the Ait 'Atta was overwhelming, and it is clear that except for the northeast and for occasional setbacks elsewhere, the Ait 'Atta, in a long series of offensive moves, generally fanned out and gained ground at the expense not only of the Ait Yafalman, but of everyone else unfortunate enough to be in their way. Their expansion was only checked when in 1899-1901 the Ait

Khabbash in the southeast had their first sanguinary encounters with the French, who pushing west from the southeastern Algerian border, occupied the oasis of Tuwat at the end of 1899 (54). This occupation proved to be the first major check on Ait 'Atta expansion, though the Ait Khabbash were to resist the French fiercely even after 'Atta "pacification" was officially proclaimed in the final battles of the Saghru in 1933 (55).

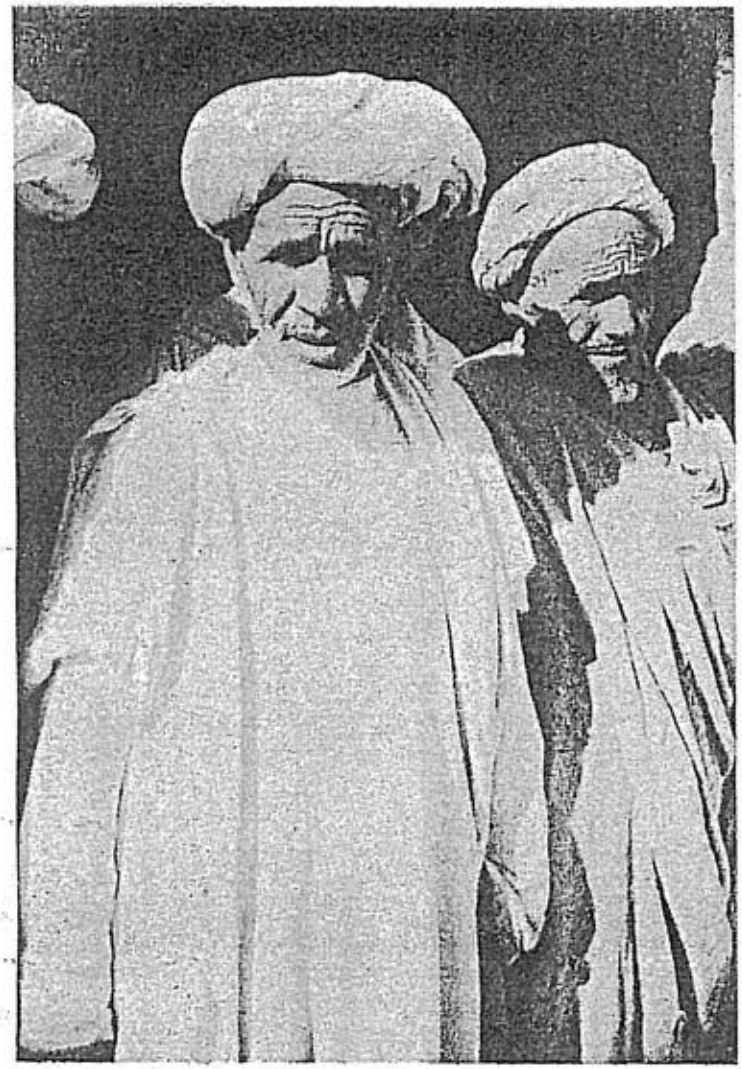
Just what was the secret of the Ait 'Atta success? Simply stated, it was due to a remarkable degree of cohesion and organisation of the Ait 'Atta as a whole. It was only in about 1890, too, that the Ait 'Atta set up their own tribal capital, at Igharm Amazdar in the Saghru, and decreed the land surrounding it inviolable (56). This local community, the "Lower Qsar", was to become the repository of Ait 'Atta Custom, the seat of their Supreme Court of Appeal, and the site where the top chief of the supertribe elected by a special process on an annual basis. But the decision of the Ait 'Atta to establish this crucial political capital and centre had obviously been long in gestation, for it depended not only upon the striking territorial discontinuity and reduplication of 'Atta clans, through proliferation, transhumance, expansion and warfare, but also upon the further, and equally crucial organisation, for political, military and ideological ends, of the whole of the Ait 'Atta into khams khmas or "five fifths". It depended also in part on responses to "calls for help" from unwarlike oasis-dwelling Haratin; and because the capital came to underscore and symbolise the unity of 'Atta Custom through the presence there of men who became specialists in Customary Law, it also came to be regarded as the symbol of the consolidation of 'Atta power. Its mere existence was a major reason for the striking originality of the Ait 'Atta political system. For the 'Atta case, the twin concepts of tribal marginalism and tribal dissidence were buttressed by this internal cohesion stressed above. The whole combination of factors produced a political system which worked very well indeed.

2.4 Pacts, Feuding and Warfare

The Ait 'Atta expansion, described above, depended on its internal dynamic for success. Quite apart from the implications of segmentary structure, the tribal capital, Customary Law, the 'five fifths' structure and the supertribal chief, an essential feature was the way in which the Ait 'Atta learned to live with the fissiparious nature of their segmentary social organisation and how they overcame its adverse effects. This, then, is the topic of this section which summarises a much fuller discussion in Dądda 'Atta and his Forty Grandsons.

Rural Commune member (Ikniwn) 1965

"I-Kwizini" u-Yihya (Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim)
(Ikniwn) 1965

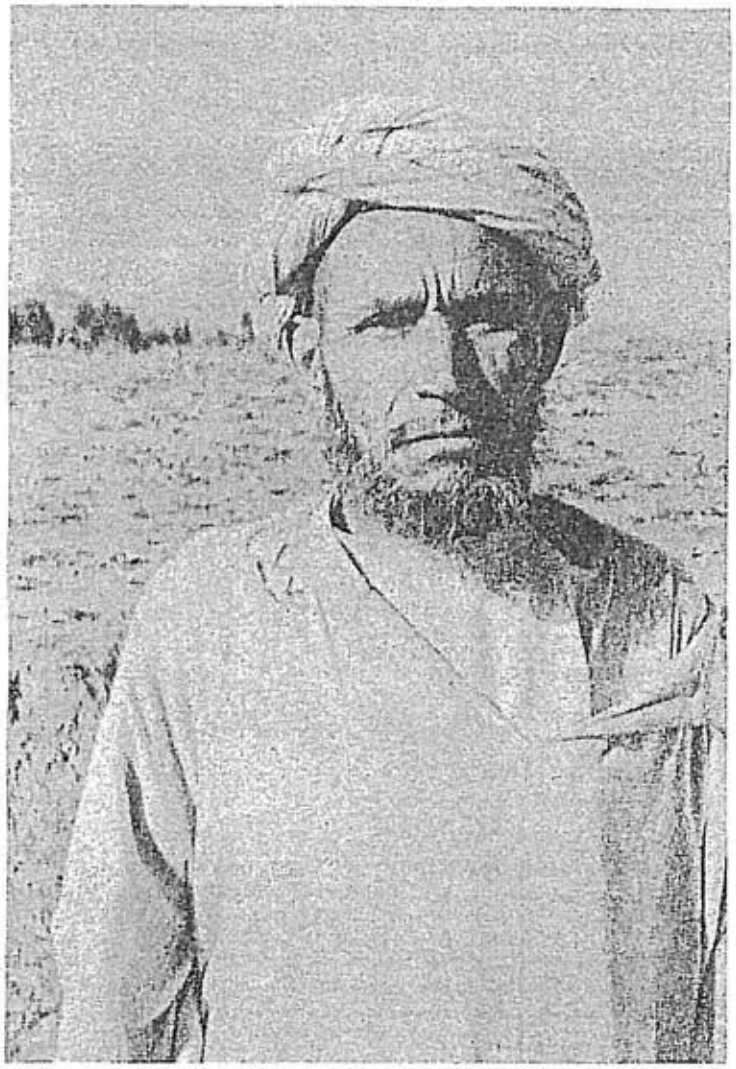


Ait Unibgi n-w-Awfus (Rfbat) 1962

Lahsin w-'Ait n-Ait Dahmun (Ạit Y'azza)
(Ait 'Atta n-Usikis) 1965

Ignawen n-Timaderwin 1962

Ignawen n-Timaderwin 1962



Igharm Amazdar (Saghru) 1960

Ait Y'azza, Timit (Saghru) 1960

Politics to the Ait 'Atta was to a considerable extent directly contingent upon the segmentary system. Political relations of peace, neutrality, truce, feud or war between 'Atta clans and "fifths" or between Ait 'Atta and the outside world depended equally upon the same system. The extent to which the Ait 'Atta achieved their ideal of unity in the face of outside enemies was considerable and, on occasion, total, particularly at the height of their expansion when internally-directed bloodfeuding had to be subordinated to externally-directed warfare. The reasons for the lack of 'Atta unification at a later period, particularly on the eve of the French conquest, can be attributed to external factors, especially that of the Glawi's intervention in the area. Before this occurred, however, pacts and alliances were an essential part of 'Atta life.

2.4.1 Pacts and Alliances

Pacts and alliances among the Ait 'Atta were of three kinds: tazttat, tada and tafargant. The first involved money payment by a client to a patron or protector, while the last two were pacts between individuals or groups of equal status, and no money changed hands. Indeed many Ait 'Atta believe tada and tafargant to be one and the same thing.

The tazttat was a pact of protection, usually for a traveller in hostile territory, not of alliance - a crucial distinction. Furthermore, unlike the theoretical lifelong validity of the tada, the tazttat was only valid for one journey and always involved a cash payment by the client, the mzattat (a Moroccan Arabic term), to his protector, the amzttid. The essence of tazttat was its use for travellers seeking the protection of the most powerful local individual, generally the amghar of the tribe through whose land they were to pass. At the tribal border, when the traveller paid his amzttid, he was turned over to another powerful man in the next tribe and the process was repeated ad infinitum. The responsibility of the amzttid to his protegé ended at his own tribal frontier. The tazttat was a highly necessary institution and among all the Central Atlas tribes, including the Ait 'Atta, anyone who intended to visit the market - the suq - of another tribe had to pay for it. In theory, therefore, no-one was exempt.

Despite these arrangements the crossing of territory of another tribe was absolutely forbidden if its members were driving animals. If one tribe drove its sheep into the territory of another, the shepherds of the victimised tribe had the right to kill and roast the invading sheep until the offenders retreated. The same applied between shepherds of different khmas, if an agudal was the subject of trespass, according to the Ait Slillu (Ait Unir) of Nqub.

The wars in the Usikis-Msimrir region between the local Ait 'Atta and the Ait Murghad and Ait Hadiddu further north indicate that this was commonplace. There is still the annual and permanent pasturage brawl at Talmast to this day.

It was precisely to counter this that tazttat and tada relations operated. Both existed typically for two mutually hostile tribes and even for two mutually hostile clans. The major factor was less the size or segmentary level of the units concerned than the degree of hostility between them.

The conceptual difference between tazttat and tada does not appear to have been rigid, despite the neat schematisation proposed by Bruno and Bousquet (57). The main difference was one of payment: the amzttid was paid and the u-tada (pl. ait tada), the co-sponsor, was not. Tada was a permanent and enduring friendship between equals, two men of different tribes, a relationship normally transmitted to their offspring; and its nature was such that groups were as easily drawn into its orbit as individuals. Any intelligent man had his u-tada, a man of equal status in a reciprocal tada relationship to him, in every neighbouring tribe. The u-tada and his family were ait tada to the man in question who also referred to all individual u-tada, in different tribes, as his ait tada, even though the network was entirely ego-centred and not transitive.

Both tazttat and tada were optionally involved in travelling - tazttat, to ensure safe arrival at the house of an u-tada, and tada, for security while there, for tada and tazttat were always made with one's enemies. Among Central Atlas tribes generally, there was no body of ritual connected with the tada concept as was the case in the Middle Atlas, where garments, silhams or jillabas and, in particular, slippers, of the right foot only, were objects of ritual exchange between all members of the two contracting groups (58). For the Ait 'Atta at least, the ritual dimension was saved for the tafargant pact.

The etymology of the term tafargant is uncertain; but the existence of an identical institution elsewhere in the Central High Atlas - the sar agu, "mixing of milk" - makes its significance immediately clear. Tafargant is, in fact, the Ait 'Atta term for what the French literature describes as the "pact of co-lactation" (59).

The tafargant pact was both more specific and more binding than the tada, and was almost invariably sealed on an intergroup rather than an inter-individual basis. It was based on an exchange of lactating babies between nursing mothers of the two groups involved. If there were no nursing mothers available, then milk had to be taken from two cows, one from each group, and placed in a single bowl from which everybody drank. The ritual exchange of infants caused a subsequent taboo on intermarriage between members of the groups concerned, for they were now

ait ughu or aitmaten n-ughu - milk brothers. This inter-marriage prohibition held good even if the ait tafargant were parallel cousins and thus overrode even shfa'a priorities: for parallel cousin marriage was a major Ait 'Atta structural desideratum, even though its actual incidence was lower than the emphasis given it by informants (60). Yet tafargant did not grant mutual inheritance expectations. Tafargant pacts were intended to patch up differences, or to cement existing friendships.

In fact the concepts of blood kinship and milk kinship seem to be merely coexistent, even though both are important. Tafargant or sar aghu - the process of milk kinship - and aitma n-ughu (or aitmaten n-ughu), the participants in that process - only have structural relevance in the specific contexts of individual foster-brotherhood and, much rarer, of mass foster-brotherhood. The agnatic principle through unilineal blood kinship is both more extensive and more intensive. This is because of genealogical reckoning of descent through the patriline, inheritance principles in which milk half-brothers are excluded, the political system with the associated system of trial by collective oath, and the terminological dominance of aitma (brothers) over istma (sisters). To borrow a term from advertising, any tendency toward uterine descent seems to be at best "subliminal".

2.4.2 Peace Offerings, Goodness, Shame and Vows

A'aban, the peace offering, literally means "sheet" or "cloth". The word refers specifically to a white sheet, cloth, burnous or, silham which the petitioner places in front of the petitionee. The act in itself signifies a request for pardon. On the sheet the petitioner places several handfuls of green grass, some loaves of bread, some sugar cones and, most important of all, a baby or small child; and the petitionee must generally accede to the request. If an a'aban were offered on a black sheet or silham, this was considered the greatest of insults, and should it have been made to the amghar, the perpetrator was fined ten sheep on the spot.

The use of an a'aban offering did not always remove the threat of punishment but nonetheless often reduced it, particularly if a fine was involved. The classical use of the a'aban was made by the ait 'ashra, "people of ten", those who swore with their accused agnate at collective oath (61) of a murderer still in exile on their return home. It was offered to the agnates of his victim as a preliminary to the diyit (bloodwealth) which the victim's kin implicitly accepted if they took the gifts offered.

Three ancillary concepts must be mentioned briefly:
1. goodness (l-khair) and those who, in the context of the

feud, work toward it (ait l-khair);
2. shame (l-'ar) and those who, in the same context, work toward vengeance (ait l-'ar); and
3. vows or covenants (l-'ahd).
These distinctions have been well known to Moroccan sociology since Westermarck; but the Ait 'Atta ascribe additional dimensions to them.

The ait l-khair (people of the good) were those who opted for truce or peace. They may have included agnates of the accused or of the petitioner who sought an amicable solution in addition to a few older men of some standing in the community who always took part. The ait l-'ar (people of shame) were those who opted for vengeance and bloodletting. The distinction usually occurred in the context of an a'aban which, if accepted, made the agnates of the injured party ait l-khair to the thief and they either excused his crime entirely or had the fine diminished. However, should they have told the thief that the victim who was their own agnate merited this treatment, they were no longer ait l-khair but ait l-'ar and no a'aban was made.

In the collective oath the ait l-khair who were prepared to offer an a'aban always included some notables or elders as well as the accused man's agnates. The word of the ait l-khair was usually considered good and their a'aban was generally accepted. When the plaintiff did accede to the a'aban he honoured the ait l-khair, which made them very content. Then no oath needed to be sworn. Should he refuse to accept their a'aban, it was usually believed that he had been influenced by others - the ait l-'ar for whom the acceptance of the a'aban proposed by the ait l-khair would under the circumstances be a bad thing. Sometimes members of the ait l-khair delegation might turn into ait l-'ar simply by changing their minds about the innocence of the accused.

Sacrifice is a primary feature of 'ar as a "conditional curse". Normally a large edible animal, generally a bull, is sacrificed at the threshold of the mosque of the group whose aid is solicited. Everyone present then partakes of the meat. But under conditions in which 'ar was needed urgently a protegé literally placed himself behind his protector; and this was an excellent indication of the power of 'ar in social relations. In fact, feuds and wars could easily start because of 'ar - when the protection of a third party was invoked amongst individuals fighting each other. Those who had not done so might then direct their hostility against the third party, agnates could be called up and battle joined.

Protection was invoked by a special formula - l-'ar-innek a flan "(I am under) your protection, Oh So-and So". This was even more effective if invoked in the feminine. l'ar innem a flana', in front of the wife of a powerful man,

as her protection was even more binding than that of her husband. There was absolutely no culturally recognised manner of escaping the obligation to protect a petitioner, except through death, unless the latter was manifestly unworthy of protection.

The relationship between 'ar (shame) and 'ahd (promise, vow or covenant) is basically defined by the threat of supernatural sanction should a 'ahd be broken through bad faith (62). The fact that both 'ar and 'ahd were conditional gave them a common fundamental feature and both carried similar supernatural sanctions if broken. There are three forms of 'ahd which differ not in ritual content but in extent of participating groups.

The first or shubbak r-rasul, the handclasp of the Prophet, is made between two individuals of equal status, who may equally represent two groups. They may perform the ritual at any place they wish, although a mosque is the most common and they do so over a copy of the Qur'an. Each participant grasps the other's hand so that their fingers are intertwined.

The second variety involved the same ritual, but was primarily intended to create a peace-oriented 'ahd between two warring groups - clans or tribes. The notables or council members of each made 'ahd with each other while ordinary tribesmen refrained from further fighting because of the fines which they would otherwise have had to pay. The third variety of 'ahd was nothing less than the tafargant pact - clearly demonstrating the link in Ait 'Atta conceptualism between vow and alliance.

The most important instance of 'ahd among the Ait 'Atta in recent years has been their link with the Moroccan throne. In 1956, at Ikniwn in the Saghru, Hajj 'Assu u-Ba Slam was one of the very few qaids of the Protectorate who survived the transfer of power through to Independence. He was even formally invested by King Muhammad V because of his magnificent resistance record against the French during the "pacification", especially at Bu Gafr in 1933. This investiture was probably the first such in 'Atta history and was sealed, as 'ahd, by a shubbak r-rasul handclasp between Muhammad V and 'Assu u-Ba Slam. It was then recorded as a dahir. After the deaths of both parties King Hasan II called Hajj 'Assu's son, 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu n-Ait Ba Slam, to Rabat and repeated the 'ahd covenant, thus confirming 'Ali u-l-Hajj as qaid in perpetuity of the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru at Ikniwn.

This covenant is of very great structural and symbolic importance - structural because the investiture stabilised and cemented political relations through personal friendship and loyalty, and symbolic, because although in siba times qaid-s within the reach of government customarily swore homage (bay'a) to the sultan, there was no concept of 'ahd associated with this act. The Ait 'Atta case was thus quite

different and it was this difference that makes it exceptional.

2.4.3 Feuding and Warfare

The Ait 'Atta counterparts to pacts and protection were feuding and warfare. Until considerably after the turn of the twentieth century the khams khmas n-Ait 'Atta were generally turned outward in full-scale aggression against their neighbours as we have seen, in a clear case of "Berber Imperialism" (63). Although they may not always have been as irresistible as they claim, their neighbours and enemies had good reason to respect and fear them.

Although the invincibility of the "five fifths" of the Ait 'Atta is universally believed by the Ait 'Atta themselves, it is difficult to identify a single instance in which classical corporate segmentary action in the form of a supertribal war against their time-honoured enemies of the Ait Yafalman and the Ait Siddrat actually occurred. Although it is said to have happened regularly, it could not have done so because different "fifths", clans, and indeed segments of the same clan were all expanding in different directions. Partial mobilisation against a common enemy on any given front would not have been difficult, but general mobilisation on all fronts would have been a very different matter. In addition, the evidence suggests that Igharm Amazdar only became the supertribal capital and supreme court site when Ait 'Atta expansion hit its peak, in the late nineteenth century. Thus its effect as a centralising and cohesion-promoting force in the overall sphere of 'Atta politics came quite late.

The biggest fissure in the Ait 'Atta self-image, one which they ruefully admit, is the fact that once new lands had been conquered the Ait 'Atta conquerors then fell to fighting among themselves. Although not universal, the practice was general enough for the bloodfeud to reach a very considerable development at the inter-clan level. It even occurred on occasion between lineages of the same clan in a given locality. It never occurred at the intra-lineage level, as quite often happened among the Rifians of the Aith Waryaghar (64), for among the Ait 'Atta, the strength of the ighs, the agnatic lineage, has always been rockhard.

Indeed, the bloodfeud, tamaddit, in 'Attaland was merely the logical consequence of a series of anti-social acts that had their own hierarchy of seriousness - theft and its concomitant, banditry; then woundings and murder. An appraisal of these forms a necessary introduction to the feud itself and to warfare.

Theft nearly always involved livestock, and was

punished by a fine, either in terms of sheep or of duros hasani, the then current currency. If the theft occurred within the local community, the thief paid the amghar n-tmazirt. If it occurred outside the community, he paid the topchief at Igharm Amazdar. Fines varied throughout 'Attaland, and the izirf or custom of the Ait Y'azza of Alnif has the ultimate refinement of an 'escape clause' counter provision. If, after the Ait 'Atta had decided that they had worked out all the necessary rules and regulations that their izirf required, and had nonetheless forgotten to include anything, however small, within it, anyone taking advantage of this apparent loophole would be fined one hundred duros hasani on the spot! This provided an interesting counter to Jerome Frank's telling observation that "... it is part of the rules of any group to break some of its own rules ..." (65).

There seems to be little evidence in 'Attaland for organised banditry except perhaps among the Ait Khabbash, whom the French unjustly accused of being large-scale iqatta'n n-ibriden (highwaymen). In any event, the only known case history of purely Ait 'Atta banditry comes not from the Ait Khabbash at all, but from the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast (66).

Ait 'Atta izirf was very precise on the subject of murder. Generally a murderer has to flee at once to another tribe, probably a hostile one, accompanied by his nine ait 'ashra. This would enable him to escape the vengeance of his victim's agnates, who, as soon as they knew what had happened, would set out after him in ritual pursuit. Thus there were two sets of ait 'ashra involved, that of the murderer, known as imzwagen (from the Moroccan Arabic cognate z-w-g, "to implore protection") and that of his victim, inighi (from the Berber root n-gh, "to kill", and hence also bu inighi, "murderer"). The agnates of the latter could, and typically did, take vengeance either on the person of the murderer himself or on that of any of his ait 'ashra.

Thus the ait 'ashra, the agnatic lineage, remained the core social grouping in feud, in the collective oath and over property matters. Naturally vengeance was ideally taken by the agnate nearest the victim in terms of inheritance - his son, his father, or his full brother - preferably on the murderer himself, although any agnate would do. Hence the immediate flight of the murderer and his own ait 'ashra.

The most likely place of refuge were those old adversaries of the Ait 'Atta, the Ait Murghad or the Ait Hadiddu and the Ait Siddrat. Other neighbouring tribes of equal status would also serve but it was quite unthinkable for an w-'Atta to take refuge among Haratin or any client group. The murderer and his ait 'ashra would always be received openhandedly, for the situation was

reciprocal particularly for the Ait Murghad.

The rules governing ritual pursuit varied from region to region, and it was not universally practised. However, in 'Attaland the murderer's ait 'ashra stayed away for a three-day period. They then returned to treat for peace by offering an a'aban to the agnates of the victim. If this were accepted, the negotiations over bloodwealth payments, diyit (pl. diyat, from Moroccan Ar. diya), could be initiated. If the ait l-'ar triumphed and the a'aban was rejected the murderer's ait 'ashra had to scatter fast, as a bloodfeud had begun.

The killer himself was of course still on amzwug, still in exile. He could only return if the a'aban offered by his ait 'ashra had been accepted. Otherwise he was in exile for many years, if not for life. He would then sacrifice a sheep to the lineage-group which had received him to become their u-tikhsi. If he died childless, his property went to his new agnates by adoption; otherwise his children inherited after the deduction of his widow's one-eighth. If the murderer were pardoned his return followed a pattern similar to the specific practice of the Ait Unir of Birnat, for whom the diyit consisted of 100 sheep. Before the sheep were handed over, the killer's agnates had to feed 100 persons for two days (as afanigg). They then made an a'aban offering, in the usual manner, and sacrificed a sheep. Only then was the diyt turned over to the dead man's agnates; and only after its acceptance could the murderer return.

The amount of diyit varied, but it depended on the victim's status, the pressure his agnates could exercise on the killer and his own agnates, and on the latter's relative wealth and status. In such a highly agnatic social system as this, the killer alone neither could nor would shoulder the total burden of the diyit: normally he paid half and his ait 'ashra the other half. Likewise, the victim's closest agnates received half, and his remaining agnates were allotted the other half (67). Just as collective oath involved corporate action, so did the bloodfeud.

Payment of the diyit was offered in money, in kind or in both. It would generally consist of livestock - sheep, goats, cattle or camels (one cow equalled seven sheep and one camel 25 sheep in the Saghru). In individual cases, rifles or real estate, convertible into hard cash or livestock at the local going rate, might be offered.

The degree of flexibility in the diyit seems to have depended on the degree of sedentarisation of the community involved. The Ait 'Atta of Usikis, for example, expected a diyit of 1,000 riyal-s hasani. This diyit expressed in money rather than in sheep, was in a sedentarising rather than a fully transhumant idiom and corresponded exactly to the amount required by the equally sedentarising Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast. The Ait 'Atta of the Saghru and the

Ait Slillu of Nqub seem to have counted their diyit payments solely in livestock, reflecting a greater accent on transhumance.

Although the two southeastern Ait 'Atta groups, the Ait Khabbash (Ait Unibgi) of Tawuz and the Ait Unibgi of Awfus, claimed not to have any diyit, other evidence suggests they did. The Ait Khabbash claimed that it was very rare for an exiled murderer ever to be pardoned, but did admit the concept of "half-diyit". This was the bloodwealth due if the victim was a woman, equivalent to the Shari'a regulations over inheritance. The diyit for a pregnant woman, however, was paid according to the sex of the unborn child. The half-diyit for a married woman was paid to her husband if she had had children by him and was not divorced; otherwise it reverted to her parents or agnates (68).

Fractions of the normal bloodwealth total were also due in other situations. Everywhere half-diyit had to be paid for shooting at a man and missing him, whereas full diyit was claimed if the would-be killer took aim but then refrained from pulling the trigger. The logic was quite simple: a de facto miss was recognised by the izirf and was charged accordingly, while the intent to kill was considered as tantamount to an actual killing. The same principle applied to knives as well as guns, for the intent to act was unequivocally equated with the act itself.

Any man who wounded another had first to kill a sheep for him as a request for pardon and then feed and care for him until he was cured. However, if a bone was broken and the marrow was exposed, money had to be paid. In addition, for a broken left hand, a diyit double that stipulated for a broken right hand was exacted, for it is with the left hand that one performs one's ablutions prior to prayer. On the other hand, the right eye was held to be worth twice the left eye, as it is normally the one kept open to aim with when shooting.

Indeed, the diyit was the standard form of blood compensation all over the Atlas. However, there was no equivalent to the heavy haqq fine in the Central Rif used to control murders committed in or near to markets. It was usual to deposit arms with a guardian just outside the market precincts and each market had two or three such guardians, imhadan n-s-suq, who also acted as policemen for the market amghar or chief. If a murder was committed in market everyone scattered, for the victim's agnates would kill the murderer at once if they caught him. This would end the matter but if they were unsuccessful, a state of feud would be formally declared for, just as truce (s-sulh) or peace (l-hna) concluded between two groups was always announced by the abarrah or market crier, so too was the awttu, a state of chronic general hostility.

2.4.4. Differences between Feuding and Warfare

In siba times most groups within the Ait 'Atta, irrespective of size, were involved either in small-scale feuds with their immediate neighbours or in large-scale wars with adjacent tribes. it must have seemed from the outside that War seemed to swamp the whole region, for while peace or a harvesting truce might be declared in one district, awttu (hostilities) flared up again in the adjoining one. Only Jews, Haratin and members of other despised socio-occupational groups, clients of the Imazighen, did not bear arms or fight.

Even though the Ait 'Atta themselves might have regarded a distinction between feud and warfare as artificial, it will aid in clarifying the ways in which they coped with the confusion that siba apparently implied. Beattie (69) distinguishes between the two in terms of scale. Feuds tended to be smaller in scale and to involve fewer people. The feud also involved the principle of lex talionis and of exact equivalence (70), as well as some institutionalised means for compensation or settlement other than reciprocal murder. For the Ait 'Atta this was the diyit.

In short, the feud aims not so much in punishing the guilty as restoring a disrupted balance through exact equivalence, for the agnatic lineages of both the killer and his victim were equally involved and equally liable. This was so important that if the victim's agnates did not feel strong enough to pursue the killer and his ait 'ashra, they would hire "imported talent" to do the job for them. This tactic was quite often used by igurramen who wished to preserve the illusion of pacifism. In fact, the principle of equivalence provides a major distinction between feud and war. In the feud hostility was either finite or intermittent because of the possibility of compensation, while in war it was permanent since no such compensation was possible, for the law of exact equivalence did not apply.

When hostilities take place between whole societies rather than between segments of a society, they acquire the characteristics of warfare. The continuous pattern of reciprocal killings, without compensation, between the two societies turns into a vendetta. Thus the Ait 'Atta describe their relationship with the Ait Yafalman or the Ait Siddrat not as tamaddit (feud), but as l-'adawt, hatred - or as l-girra (neologism from French guerre and Spanish guerra). Even here, however, the exact equivalence factor would well apply within the Ait 'Atta society itself. It was inherent in the division of spoils or booty, l-ghnimt (from Mor. Ar. l-ghanima) (71) resulting from full-scale warfare which took place in the Saghru after a battle.

Warriors returning from the battlefield laden with booty had to wait for three days outside the limits of the Tafraw n-Ait 'Atta in the Saghru so that the whole Ait 'Atta

fighting force could participate in the division of spoils. This was directed by the top chief, who was also the war chief, just outside the Tafrawt limits as inside them no weapons were allowed. It was made in terms of the number of warriors who had participated in the engagement and in terms of the type of armament each man carried; and it was applied to all types of plunder - from enemy arms to livestock. Generally a man with a bu shfar (flintlock) received a smaller share than a man with a modern rifle. The largest amount of one and one-half shares went to a warrior with a repeating rifle such as a tatsa'it or 'nine-shot' repeater - usually the French model 1886 Lebel magazine rifle. During siba times this was the most prized firearm in tribal Morocco, and had usually been smuggled into the country. A man who carried a sasbu or 'Chassepot' - the French model 1874 Gras single-shot rifle - received one and one-quarter shares. A man with only a bu shfar received three-quarters of a share, because it was held that the smoke from the bu shfar would betray its owner's location during a battle. A man with only a knife or dagger received just a half-share, as he could not normally be a front line combatant. Nonetheless, these ideals for feud and warfare were more honoured in the breach than in the observance and the rulebook ideology of exact equivalence was by no means always adhered to in practice.

Wars could de-escalate into feuds, but with neighbouring tribes attitudes were ruthless and the benefits of military success considerable. Within the Ait 'Atta, however, alliances were variable and varied, for although the Berber notion of liff so prevalent in the Western Atlas and the Rif was familiar to them, it was never conceived of as stable or enduring. The Ilimshan were so powerful, compared to other clans, that they acted as the pivot of the liff system at the clan level. On one occasion, all the Ait 'Atta ganged up against the Ilimshan in a war which lasted for seven years (a suspect figure). Then alignments changed again, yet it had nonetheless taken the combined forces of the Ait Bu Iknifen and the Ait Y'azza to subdue them. The Ilimshan say that they were invariably at the top of the Ait 'Atta ladder and acted as the mill which kept the other 'Atta clans ground down.

A classical example of Ait 'Atta feud is given by the traditions of the Ait Bu Iknifen at Talmast. Their main enemies were the Ait Is'hha of the Ait Massad confederacy, and they once killed 14 Ait Is'hha in a fight over pasturage. However, their constant adversaries seem to have been the Ait Bu Iknifen n-Iqibliyen, the southern Ait Bu Iknifen clans. The latter differed with their northern brethren when the latter began to adopt sedentary ways, and then differed with them still further when they began to use part of the Agudal n-Tlmast as arable ploughland.

It was this type of incident that began the famous annual pasturage brawl at Talmast.

The principal enemies of the Ait Bu Iknifen further south at Imidar, however, were the Ait Murghad, the Ait Siddrat and the Ait Is'hha. They considered the Ait Bu Iknifen at Talmast as an outpost against the latter. They also recalled a war between the Ait Unibgi and the rest of the Ait 'Atta and another between the Ait Zimru and the Ait Hassu sub-"fifths" of the khums of the Ait Wahlim. In this war, they claimed, 45 men named Sa'id died on the Ait Zimru side alone. This is a standardised traditional form of casualty listing and is a shorthand way of indicating the heavy losses which were often sustained in battle.

A final example describes how the Ait 'Atta, more or less a single unit for once, took two mules loaded with duro-s hasani as their annual donation to their patron saint, Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain at Tamsluht. On the way a man of the Ait Hassu named Sa'id n-Ait Ful made off with both mules and the money. This act precipitated a war within the ranks of the Ait 'Atta which lasted for 14 years (twice seven, again a suspect figure). The principal contingents in this long-drawn-out conflict were the Ait Hassu and the Ilimshan (of the Ait Zimru sub-"fifth"). On the side of the former the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, the Ait Bu Iknifen (both also in the Ait Zimru sub-"fifth") and the Ait l-Firsi and the Ait Khardi (both in the Ait 'Aisa Mzin "fifth"), while on the side of the latter were only the Ignawen (of the Ait Zimru sub-"fifth") and the Ait Unir (of the Ait Wallal-Ait Unir "fifth").

No doubt many of these accounts are really myths - reports distorted by oral tradition so that the same event appears with different actors, and events themselves become telescoped together. Nonetheless, such myths contain their own inner reality and demonstrate the salient features of warfare within Ait 'Atta society - and with neighbouring tribes. Unstable alliances, mutual suspicion, eternal grudges and arrogant domination of their neighbours from the leitmotiv of the Ait 'Atta past, together with a sense of permanent balance through eternal violence.

2.4.5 The Ait 'Atta, Their Neighbours and the Makhzan

Ironically, there does seem to have been some inherent rough-and-ready equivalence about Ait 'Atta warfare: for the outcomes of their many wars were generally equal, so that the usual result was a stalemate. Indeed this was a major feature of tribal warfare in general. When either or both groups decided that their manpower or even livestock had become depleted to a critical level, then the l-hna (truce) was proclaimed in order to allow them to

recoup their losses before starting in on a second round. In this second round, it was quite in order, and indeed normal, for the configuration of alliances to shift and change. Nonetheless, feuding at the intratribal level was one thing and warfare with the Ait Yafalman or the Ait Siddrat, enemies among whom killers at home receive asylum, was quite another. This was understood in the wider socio-political field, as the Ait Yafalman and the Ait Siddrat were the tribes which were generally more apt to have the tacit support, at least of the makhzan.

Ait 'Atta relations with the makhzan were characterised by a triangular combination of resistance, armed neutrality and bet-hedging. It was the additional combination, equally triangular, of "five fifths", an annually elected top chief and a political capital plus transhumance and the eternal search for greener pastures for their sheep, which underpinned the homogeneity, cohesion, power and aggressiveness of the Ait 'Atta. This combination, furthermore, provided the means for the Ait 'Atta to mass against their neighbours until they represented an irresistible force. Fights between the sub-"fifths" of the Ait Zimru and the Ait Hassu, therefore, only kept the Ait 'Atta limbered up for larger-scale warfare against the Ait Yafalman. According to their own view of the situation, while Imluqten or "mixed" tribes composed of heterogeneous clans were apt to feud internally, they themselves, claiming descent from a common ancestor, saw as their major concern warfare with an external enemy, rather than their domestic feuds. These, after all, were facts of life, while warfare was an act of will.

Chapter Notes

1 Jan Vansina, Oral Tradition, Trans. by H.M. Wright, Chicago: Aldin Publishing Co., p.157. For certain strictures which the author places on the socio-historical position of oral traditions among segmentary societies, of which the Ait 'Atta are manifestly an excellent example, see same work, p.171.

2 This legend is taken in part from information contained in Cmdt. Said Guennoun, "La Haute Moulouya", Renseignements Coloniaux et Documents Publiés par le Comité de l'Afrique Française et la Comité du Maroc, Oct-Nov. 1939, pp.209-224; Dec. 1939, pp.225-240; Jan-Feb. 1940, pp.25-32; March-April 1940, pp.42-48; (especially pp.217-219); and in part from Louis-Jean Duclos, personal communications, 1968.

3 Cf. Ernest Gellner, "Introduction", in Ernest Gellner and Charles Micaud, Eds., Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa, London, Duckworth, 1973, p.13.

4 Gaston Deverdun, Marrakech: Des Origines à 1912, 2 vols., Rabat: Editions Techniques Nord-Africains, 1959-1966, esp. vol.I, pp.427-428.

5 In Tamazight Berber, u is the masculine singular of ait, and means "son (of)", while the plural ait is "sons (of), children (of)". It also means "man", and "men", while its feminine equivalent is ut, pl. ist.

6 One popular etymology for the name is aduwwad anafalman, "we will find peace", while a related one is that the wife of their alleged ancestor Midul told her sons, Afat l-man, afat l-man, "Find the peace, find the peace!"

7 For an excellent overall analysis of the phenomenon of "Portuguese" remains in Morocco, cf. Bernard Rosenberger, "Les Anciennes Exploitations Minières et les Anciens Centres Métallurgiques au Maroc", Revue de Géographie du Maroc, No.17, 1970, pp.71-108, and No.18, 1970, pp.59-102. The reference here is from No.18, 1970, pp87-88.

8 The legends surrounding the early life of Sidi Sa'id Ahansal with his teacher, Sidi Bu Mhammad Salih, the patron saint of Safi, and how he came to the

Zawiya Ahansal, with a cat, a donkey and a sickle- his teacher had instructed him to stop at the point where the cat jumped off the donkey's back - are another story entirely and are recounted in detail in Marthe and Edmond Gouvion, Kitab Aayane el-Marhrib el-Akca, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1939, pp.743-745; in Georges Drague (pseudonym of Georges Spillmann), Esquisse d'Histoire Religieuse du Maroc, Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie, II, Paris: Peyronnet, n.d., but ca., 1951, pp.163-164; and in Ernest Gellner, Saints of the Atlas, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, pp.290-291.

9 Most accounts say two neighbour groups, either the Ait Tagilla and the Ait Wassar (as in Drague, op. cit., ca., 1951, and in Lt. Jean-Andre Ithier, Etude sur les Hansali et sur ses Possibilités Actuelles, MS. 1947) for the Ait Ughzu and Ait Wassar.

10 Gellner, op. cit., 1969, passim. Cf. also my own review of this work in the Middle East Journal, XXIV, 4, 1970, pp.531-536.

11 Gellner, op. cit., 1969, pp.175 and 294. Drague, op. cit., ca.1951, p.164, makes an unconvincing attempt to identify and situate the Ait w-Assar historically. A much more careful treatment of this elusive question is to be found in Magali Morsy, Les Ahansals, Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1972, pp.8, 26-29, 58, even though the identifications she makes are purely tentative.

12 Gellner, op. cit., 1969, pp.170-171.

13 This legend is taken from two unpublished sources: Capt. Paul Azam, "Les Cités Rurales du Ktaoua", CHEAM Reports, No.2038, February 1946, and Capt. Niclausse, "Rapports entre Nomades et Sedentaires dans le Coude du Dra: La Raia", CHEAM Reports, No.2306, January 15, 1954, as well as a personal communication from Louis-Jean Duclos, Nov.3, 1968. See also Dj. Jacques-Meunié, "Les Oasis des Laktaoua et des Mhamid: Institutions Traditionelles des Draoua", Hesperis, XXXIV, 3-4, 1947, pp.397-429. Mulay Isma'il is the most important of the early rulers of the present 'Alawid dynasty, who reigned 1672-1727.

14 Morsy, 1972, op. cit., pp.27-28. She links up the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu settlement of the area with the construction of the zawiya of Sidi Sa'id and of Sidi Yusif, both of them Ihansalen saints although not

from the main line of descent from Sidi Sa'id Ahansal. Elsewhere in the same work, however, (as in fn.23 on p.53), she follows Dragué as estimating that the Ait Unir of Birnat, for example, were established in their present home as early as the thirteenth century and well before the formation of the main body of the Ait 'Atta "confederation".

15 Identified tentatively as Abu l-Hasan, who reigned 1331-1348 AD during the Marinid dynasty and whose tomb is in the Shala mosque and necropolis complex beside Rabat.

16 Jean Brignon, Abdelaziz Amine, Brahim Boutaleb, Guy Martinet, Bernard Rosenberger and Michel Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc, Paris: Hatier and Casablanca: Librairie Nationale, 1967, pp.259-262, 264.

17 Brabar, sing. barbar, is merely one of the standard Moroccan Arabic designations for "Berbers", and applies to the Imazighen sheep transhumants, while the other term shluh, sing. shilh, refers to the sedentary Berbers of the Western Atlas. Two further nuances are Swasa, sing. Susi, for Berbers of the Sus, and Riyafa, pl. Rifi, for those of the Rif. The equivalent Berber terms for each of these groups are Imazighen, sing. Amazigh, for those of the Saghru, Central and Middle Atlas: Ishilhayen, sing. Ashilhay for those of the Western Atlas, and/or Isusiyen, sing. Asusi, for those of the Sus and the Anti-Atlas; and Irifiyen, sing. Arifi, for those of the Rif.

18 Cf. Marcel Lesne, "Les Zemmour, Essai d'Histoire Tribale", Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerrannée, II, 2, 1966, pp.111-154; III, 1, 1967, pp.97-132; and IV, 2, 1967, pp.31-80.

19 Op. cit., III, 1, 1967, pp.109-110, and René Raynal, La Terre et l'Homme en Haute Moulouya, Société d'Etudes Economiques, Sociales et Statistiques, Rabat, n.d., but ca. 1961, pp.14-18.

20 Ithier concurs; cf. his unpublished report, op. cit. 1947.

21 An informant remarked that anyone passing thorugh would recognise our own footprints in the sand as being those of foreigners, while Ait 'Atta footprint would be recognised as such even if their possessor were wearing European shoes.

22 The description comes from a Moroccan researcl.

assistant who went inside.

23 See Drague, op. cit., ca. 1951, Genealogical Tables II, IV and V. For the discussion of the concept of spiritual genealogies in Islam, see E. Gellner, "Sanctity, Puritanism, Secularisation and Nationalism in North Africa: A Case Study", in J.G. Peristiany, Ed., Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology: Mediterranean Rural Communities and Social Change, Paris and the Hague: Mouton, 1968, pp.31-48.

24 L.Marmol del Carvajal, Descripcion Général de Africa, 3 vols., 1571, see Lt. Georges Spillmann, Districts et Tribus de la Haute Vallée du Dra, in Tribus Berbères, tome Ii, in series Villes et Tribus du Maroc, IX, Paris; Honore Champion, 1931, pp.61-62, n.2. The reference to Marmol evidently comes from vol.III, Chap.XXIX, p.17.

25 The first date is taken from M. and E. Gouvion op. cit., 1939, p.411; the second from the same source, p.184; the third from Abu Zid Sidi 'Abd ar-Rahman b. Muhammad al-Jazuli at Tamanarti al-Mghafri, Fawa'id al-Jamma bi Isnadi 'Ulumi al-Umma, trans. by Cmdt. L. Justinard, Chartres: Durand, 1953, p.35; and the fourth represents a marginal gloss, in the same source as the third, same page, but according to the Fihrasa or index compiled by 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kittani. Support for the last mentioned date may also be found in G. Deverdun, "Dahir Sa'dide de Renouvellement (1632)", Mélanges le Tourneau, I, ROMM, 13-14, 1973, pp.313-317, in which the author cites Ibn al-Muwaqqit, al Sa'adat al-'Abadiya, Fas 1336 (1917-18), pp.106-109.

26 MS., op. cit., 1947. In the manuscript the date is mistakenly given as 1588.

27 Drague, op. cit., 1951, p.163, dates Sidi Sa'id Ahansal at the end of the twelfth century AD based probably on the dates of his teacher, Sidi Bu Mhammad Salih in Safi, which he gives as 1150-1234 (ibid. p.41). Gellner's chronology rectifies some of the contradictions in Drague's work, but not all of them. Drague's dating is obviously far too early while Gellner's seems somewhat too early.

28 Cf. Capt. Roger Henry. "Notes sur les Ait Bou Yacoub", MS., CHEAM Reports, No.45, vol.3, January 1937, and "Une Tribu de Transhumants du Grand Atlas: les Ait Morrhad", MS., CHEAM Reports No.147, May 24, 1937, p.12. The latter report agrees in substance

with our previous information on the formation of the Ait Yafalman coalition.

29 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, in which the pseudo-factor of Saharan origin is proclaimed in the very title. Spillmann also (ibid., p.33) cites Beaumier, Du Pays du Dra, Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Mémoires et Documents, vol.4, ff.218-225, to the effect that "until recently Ait 'Atta men wore their hair long, as do the Moorish or Mauritanian tribes of the Western Sahara today, as proof of their Saharan origin". The point is uncheckable today, as shaved heads are universal; and so is W.B. Harris' notation (Spillmann, op. cit., p.33) in his Tafilalt, London, 1895, that the Ait Y'azza clan at Ulturugg (or Urturigg) more closely resembled the Saharan Arabs than they did their "Berber brothers".

30 Louis-Jean Duclos, personal communication, November 3, 1968.

31 Whether or not this Ait Yafalman coalition was formed at the instigation of the Moroccan Government, the makhzan, is a moot point. Most of the French sources (Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, pp.40-42, Henry, both MSS., op. cit., 1937 and Guennoun, op. cit., 1939, pp.218-219) would imply that it was, with the Ait Yumur as a gish tribe providing the bridge between the Makhzan and the rest of the Ait Yafalman.

32 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, and Capt. R. De Monts de Savasse, "Le Régime Foncier chez les Ait 'Atta du Sahara", MS., CHEAM Report, No.1815, Feb. 10, 1951. Spillmann's version is derived from Officier-Interprete Denoun, "Essai de Monographie de la Tribu Berbère des Ait 'Atta", MS., April 7, 1913, in Archives du Gouvernement General de l'Algerie, Series H, Box 22H 79, in the Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence.

33 Drague, op. cit., ca. 1951, pp.212-214, would place the Ait 'Atta moves toward both the Dra and the Tafilalt as late in the seventeenth century, while Jacques-Meunié (op. cit., 1947) would opt for the move south as late as the early nineteenth century. In my view the first dating is too early and the second is too late. See also Dunn's excellent article "Berber Imperialism: the Ait 'Atta expansion in Southeast Morocco", in Gellner and Micaud, Eds., Arabs and Berbers, op. cit., pp.85-108.

34 MS., op. cit., 1954.

35 Cf. note 41.

36 Another tradition from the Ait Khabbash clan has it that Mulay Isma'il asked them to provide him with forty virgins, and they resolutely refused, and captured his army. But as he was under the protection of a particular w-'Atta, they could not touch him, although they made him give them carte blanche for all further operations once his captor had taken him back to Fez and released him. This tradition was provided for me by Ross E. Dunn, Sept.23, 1967.

37 Henri Terrasse, Histoire du Maroc: des Origines à l'Etablissement du Protectorat Français, 2 vols., Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949-50, vol.II, pp.262-263; Lt. F. de la Chapelle. "Le Sultan Mulay Isma'il et les Berbères Sanhaja du Maroc Central", Archives Marocaines, XXVIII, Paris, Honoré Champion, 1931, pp.8-64., esp. pp.22-23.

38 Brignon et al., op. cit., 1967, pp.242-243.

39 Brignon et al., op. cit., 1967, p.273.

40 Extract from a letter from the Sovereign to his governors dated Dhu l-Qa'da 1231, or October 4 1816, and published by Lucette Valensi, Le Maghreb avant la Prise d'Alger, Serie "Questions d'Histoires", Paris: Flammarion, 1969, p.109.

41. Ibid., p.109.

42. Cf. Capt. R. Henry, both MSS., op. cit., 1937.

43 For details see Dunn, op. cit., pp.90 ff.

44 Ross E. Dunn, "The Trade of Tafilalt: Commercial change in southeast Morocco on the Eve of the Protectorate", African Historical Studies, VI, 2, 1971, pp.271-304. To some extent this is corroborated by D. Jacques-Meunié, "El Maarka, Résidence Princière dans un Oasis du Maroc (XVIIIe Siècle)", Cahiers des Arts et Techniques d'Afrique du Nord, No.7, Tunis: Société Tunisienne de Diffusion, 1947, pp.7-22.

45 Leon Roches, Trente-Deux Ans à Travers de l'Islam, 2 vols., Paris: Firman Didet, 1885, vol.2, p.433.

46 De Monts de Savasse notes that in 1905 the Marquis de Segonzac was surprised to see many horses among the Ait 'Atta, who have none at all today: he claims

that the reason for the disappearance in 'Attaland of the horse, formerly used for cavalry charges and expensive to feed and maintain, was the introduction, about 1900, of the repeating rifle. See Capt. R. de Monts de Savasse, "L'élevage dans une Tribu Berbère de Montagne du Sud Marocain: Les Ait 'Atta du Sahara", CHEAM Report, No.1881, October, 1951, unpublished MS., p.17.

47 Vicomte Charles de Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc 1883-1884, 2nd ed., Paris: Société d'Editions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 1924, p.226.

48 Dr. F.J. Linarès, "Voyage au Tafilelt avec S.M. le Sultan Mulay Hassan en 1893", reprinted from Bulletin de l'Institut d'Hygiène au Maroc, Nos.3-4, 1932, pp.1-66; see also same author, "Après le Voyage au Tafilelt", reprinted from BIHM No.4, 1933, pp.71-77.

49 Linarès, op. cit., 1932, p.48. Many of the shurfa, or descendants of the Prophet in the Tafilalt region belong to the Darqawa religious order, while Filali and 'Attawi are merely standard terms in Moroccan Arabic for, respectively, an inhabitant of the Tafilalt and a member of the Ait 'Atta.

50 ibid., 1932, p.49.

51 ibid., p.57.

52 ibid., p.59.

53 Ross E. Dunn, op. cit., 1973.

54 Cf. A.G.P. Martin, Quatre Siècles d'Histoire Marocaine: Au Sahara de 1504 à 1902, Au Maroc de 1894 à 1912, Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1923, pp.68-70, 124, 125, 130, 147, 148.

55 One informant boasted that had the French not been there to stop them, the Ait 'Atta snowball would have even rolled up Algeria, to say nothing of the rest of Morocco!

56 De Monts de Savasse, "Le Régime Foncier ...". MS., op. cit., 1951.

57 Henri Bruno and Georges-Henri Bousquet, "Contribution à l'Etude des Pactes de Protection et d'Alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc Central", Hesperis, vol.XXXIII, nos.3-4, 1946, pp.353-371.

58 This point is discussed in detail for the Zimmur by Marcel Lesne, Las Zemmour: Evolution d'un Groupement Berbère, Rabat: Ecole du Livre, n.d., (but ca. 1962), pp.59, 68. It also appears that in the Middle Atlas the meaning of tadha was tantamount to a concept to which the Ait 'Atta give a different label, that of tafargant, and that tadha pacts were pacts of co-lactation. Df. Georges Marcy, "L'alliance par Co-lactation (tad'a) chez les Berbères du Maroc Central" in Deuxième Congrès de la Fédération des Sociétés Savantes de l'Afrique du Nord, tome II, 2, Tlemcen, April 14-17, 1936, published Algiers 1936, pp.957-973. Among the Ait 'Atta, at least, tada had no implications whatsoever of co-lactation: only tafargant has these implications.

59 Cf. Marcy, op. cit., 1936, and Bruno and Bousquet, op. cit., 1946, also supra, fr.2.

60 Hart, Dadda 'Atta, op. cit., 1981, pp.148-151.

61 Cf. Hart, Dadda 'Atta, op. cit., 1981, pp.155-179.

62 Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1926, vol.I, p.565.

63 Ross E. Dunn, "Berber Imperialism: The Ait 'Atta Expansion in Southeast Morocco", in Ernest Gellner and Charles Micaud, Eds., Arabs and Berbers: From Tribe to Nation in North Africa, London: Duckworth, 1973, pp.85-107.

64 Cf. David M. Hart, "Clan, Lignage et Communauté Locale dans une Tribu Rifaine", Revue de Géographie du Maroc (Special issue devoted to Douars et Centres Ruraux, organised by the Centre Universitaire de la Recherche Scientifique, Rabat, April 26-28, 1965) No.8, 1965, pp.25-33; also Hart, "Clan, Lineage, Local Community and the Feud in a Rifian Tribe", in Louise E. Sweet, Ed., Peoples and Cultures of the Near and Middle East: An Anthropological Reader, 2 vols., New York National History Press, 1976, vol.II, pp.3-75; and Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif: An Ethnography and History, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No.55, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976, Chap.12 (pp.313-338).

65 Jerome Frank, art. "Lawlessness" Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, IX, 1933, pp.277-278, cited by E.A. Hoebel, The Law of Primitive Man, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964, pp.29-30.

66 For details, Hart, 1981, p.196.

67 Another version has it that diyit received went first to the parents of the victim; if they were dead, then his brothers received it; and if he were married, his widow received her customary and legal one-eighth.

68 Among the Ait Hadiddu the diyit for any married woman, with or without children, went to her husband; but this was not the case among the Ait 'Atta or the Ilimṣhan if she were childless.

69 John Beattie, Other Cultures, London: Cohen and West, 1964, pp.175-176 and article "Feud" in Julius Gould and William J. Kolb, Eds., Dictionary of the Social Sciences, London: Tavistock, 1964, pp.267-268.

70 It is interesting and relevant that Beattie (Other Cultures, op. cit., p.175) cites the law of exact equivalence precisely for "North African Berbers"; and his information almost certainly derives from Westermarck.

71 This term has been perpetuated as a subclan name: the Ait l-Ghanima or "people of the spoils" are a segment of the Ait 'Alwan, themselves in turn one of the two member subdivisions making up the khums of the Ait Isful-Ait 'Alwan.

3 LIFE AND BELIEF

The designations "Berber" and "Arab" are of course linguistic rather than racial or cultural and the Ait 'Atta, like most Moroccan Berbers, are a strikingly handsome Mediterranean people. All Ait 'Atta men wear turbans (tikarzit), now made of four metres of white cotton muslin. The turban generally worn in siba, however, prior to "pacification" was the tabakshiut: it was made of wool or felt, and was half the length of the modern one. In fact, the two most visible marks of a man in 'Atta eyes are the turban and the beard, and in siba days the rifle or flint-lock gun made a third, while many Ait 'Atta still carry curved daggers, (tuzzalt, Ar. kummiya) today. The straight-bladed daggers once in vogue further north they consider only good for cutting meat (1).

3.1 'Atta Dress

'Atta male dress consists of a long white cotton shirt down to the knees, and, underneath it, baggy white cotton trousers tucking in just below the knees, a black sleeveless burnous worn over the shirt, and leather sandals, worn even in winter. The most distinctive features of woman's dress are the striking triangular headdress (tabugst) to which green cords and silver jewellery are attached and over the back of which a headscarf is worn (2), a necklace of big amber beads and a woollen blanket (ahandir), which always has different designs according to the clan of the wearer. Underneath the ahandir women wear a sheet of blue-black indigo cotton fastened at the shoulder by a silver clasp, taken in at the waist by a woollen belt and coming down to the ankles. Underneath this, they usually wear baggy women's trousers, although this is a post-"pacification" innovation. Footgear is usually leather sandals, if any is worn.

3.2 Division of Labour

The agricultural cycle was described in chapter 1 and

agriculture is almost entirely a male activity. Although women may help out with irrigating the fields and the repair of irrigation ditches after heavy rain, the tasks of ploughing, irrigating, harvesting of crops, threshing and winnowing on the threshing floor, and taking the threshed grain and the straw to the igharm are all men's work. However, women take the cut grain on their backs from the field to the threshing floor.

Women, of course, do all the housework, cooking, spinning of wool, weaving of tent strips and rugs, and grinding of grain in the handmill or quern. They milk the animals, ewes, goats and cattle. They bring in huge loads of brushwood and goatskin loads of water on their backs and they walk long distances - far longer than men do - to seek a special grass called ushkid as fodder for cattle.

Activities connected with herding and transhumance, however, are shared equally. Lambs and kids are pastured by small boys and girls while sheep and goats are pastured by grown men and women. Packing up and unpacking the tent and its furnishings is also a joint endeavour which requires the cooperative efforts of five or six people.

It is clear that the sex division of labour is basically unequal, and women work considerably harder and longer than men. This is not peculiar to the Ait 'Atta but is a basic cultural fact about Moroccan society, particularly rural society.

The greater leisure of men is reflected in hunting, a prevalent diversion after autumn ploughing. Firearms and the knowledge of how to use them have always occupied a central place in Moroccan Berber culture, and today applies to the flintlocks (bu shfar) which the authorities allow tribesmen to retain for hunting and for various periodic rituals.

The most sought after game animal is the mouflon, the North African mountain sheep, known in Tamazight as udad. Mouflons generally travel in flocks of ten to fifteen animals at high altitudes in the Central Atlas, and their speed, surefootedness and ability to climb and jump are legendary (3). A good mouflon hunter must do the same for the skins are prized and the meat is delicious. Anyone who kills a mouflon during a hunt has the right to both the skin and the head, with its impressive horns. As the skin is the more valuable part, however, this invariably leads to altercations when two hunters have wounded the same animal. With mouflons, as with all edible animals killed, the meat is divided up equally among all the hunters present.

Boar cannot be eaten, being pig; but they are generally shot because they are a danger to crops and humans. Barbary monkeys, detested by Berbers, can also be dangerous to men where they are found in any number.

The most dangerous animal, however, is the panther, a local variant of the African leopard, which attacks every other animal, man not excepted. But all three generally inhabit those parts of the Atlas which are relatively thickly covered with forest or underbrush, unlike most of 'Attaland. The major area for striped hyenas, is the Western Sahara, south and west of 'Attaland. All these animals are taboo as food.

Fish are not taboo, and the rivers of the Middle and Central Atlas produce excellent trout but Berbers never eat them because it is not qa'ida or izirf - customary. As for birds, pigeons are considered too common to bother about and partridges are knocked down on the wing with sticks or snared on the threshing floors. Curiously, although vultures, as carrion eaters, are taboo as food, hawks are not. The explanation is that they eat their prey live rather than dead!

Hunting among the Ait 'Atta and other Berbers remains, as in our own society, an essentially leisure time activity. It is not and never has been an economic activity, and its contribution to the Ait 'Atta diet is only marginal.

3.3 Diet

There is considerable variation in the Ait 'Atta diet, depending on the region of 'Attaland under consideration. Generally, however the meat intake of the Ait 'Atta and of most Central and Middle Atlas Berbers is higher than elsewhere in Morocco, precisely because of the extreme ecological and cultural importance of sheep.

The northern Ait 'Atta, such as the Ait Bu Iknifen at Talmast, eat a great deal of mutton, just as their neighbours of the Ihansalen and the Ait 'Abdi (Ait Sukhman) do. The preferred form is the mishwi, a sheep roasted whole in a pit in the ground especially prepared for the purpose. The standard fare among the Ait 'Atta of the Usikis-Msimrir region consists of a peppery tajin (4), made with crude olive oil, containing chicken or, more often, goat or mutton, and flavoured with whatever vegetable is in season - marrows, tomatoes, potatoes and, above all, turnips. The only by-products of the cow which are normally consumed are milk and butter; for to the Ait 'Atta meat means mutton, goat or occasionally camel.

Despite the somewhat Spartan quality of their diet, Ait 'Atta today say that they are not as tough as their fathers were, for the latter lived solely on meat, dates, bread and milk, and no vegetables at all. The present generation, old informants note with regret, has become accustomed to tea, kuskus, and tajins.

3.4 Life Cycles and Ritual

For the Ait 'Atta, as for most informally structured societies, the individual's life is linked into his social setting by certain common experiences and 'rites de passage'. We now turn to a discussion of the most important of these.

3.4.1 Pregnancy and Childbirth

Practices connected with childbirth among the Ait 'Atta are much as elsewhere in Morocco. Pregnant women continue with normal household tasks about two months before they are to give birth (ilula or tlula), when their work load is considerably lightened. When labour pains begin, a midwife (ut-idammen, "daughter of blood") is always called in to help the expectant mother. Once the baby is born, the placenta is buried at a distance from the house so that the dogs will not eat it. The umbilical cord (timit, "navel") however, is kept, "as the women do something with it", in the words of a male informant. He was unable to specify what because women are the major repository of sorcery practices which they do their best to conceal from men.

For the first six days after birth, the child has no name, although the father announces the news of the birth to one and all. The birth of a boy, as in all Muslim societies, is an occasion for far more rejoicing than the birth of a girl: and if it is a boy, the father holds a naming feast (sbu', from siba, "seven") on the seventh day after birth, to which all are invited. If the baby is a girl, only the immediate neighbours are invited. The father sacrifices a sheep; but there is ahidus dancing only for a male child. The expense of the feast, is partially defrayed by the guests themselves.

The naming system is of great structural importance in the ascription of an individual's position in his agnatic lineage. There is a general tendency among the Ait 'Atta, as among most other Berbers, to name boys after their paternal grandfathers. There is no corresponding tendency in naming girls, whose structural importance in any case is minimal.

At Usikis, for example, and divorced from any lineage context, common men's names include the various Berber derivatives of Muhammad, such as Muha, Muhand, Mhand and even the Arab form Mhammad: the related names Hammu, held to be the nickname of Hmad (Ahmad) and derived from the same Arabic root; 'Ali; 'Amr; Sa'id, and its alleged derivative or nickname 'Addi; Brahim ("Abraham") and its alleged derivative Baha; Hsain, Lahsin and their alleged derivative Bassu; 'Aisa ("Jesus") and its derivative or

diminutive 'Assu; Ishshu ("Joseph"), which in Arabic becomes Yusif; Dawud ("David"); Ikhalf; Ihinna ("John"); Yidir, the only non-canonical Berber name surviving in Morocco; and Zaid.

In the same area, common women's names include three derivatives of Fatima, to wit, Fadma, Mama and Ittu; 'Aisha; Khaira; Tuda; 'Addju; Ahra; Bizza; Luhu; and Mil'aid (given to girls born at the time of the Muslim religious feasts of the 'Aid s-Sghir or Little 'Aid and the 'Aid l-Kbir or Big 'Aid).

A mother starts to wean her child from the breast anywhere from ten months to a year and a half after birth. This is simply because pregnancies tend to be serial, despite the scrupulously observed Muslim taboo on sexual intercourse for forty days after childbirth.

One interesting and important point is the existence of the institution of the amgun, the so-called "sleeping child". This is a special and long-term socio-cultural manifestation of pregnancy rather than a purely biological one. The situation is that a woman has a child in her womb which she holds to be "asleep", in that it is not born after the normal gestation period of nine months (6). The legal aspects of the matter are of interest, because Muslim Law decrees a minimum period called 'idda, of three months, before any widow can remarry, in order to determine whether or not she may be pregnant by her deceased husband. Hence, should she bear a child nine months or less after her husband's death she can contest allegations that the child is not legitimate.

Any woman who thinks she has a sleeping child is generally first aware of it through cessation of menstruation (7). She generally obtains a verification through a tamttut tawssart ("old woman specialist"). Formerly, she then made a declaration of the fact to the council members, the imqqranen or ikhataren or "big men" of the ajmu' while today she makes it to the government officials at the 'bureau', after her husband's funeral.

The second point of legal interest here is that whereas Maliki Muslim Law puts a rigid time limit on "sleeping children" of five to seven years, Berber customary law everywhere in the Middle-Central Atlas region holds that there is no time limit and that sleeping pregnancies may theoretically continue forever.

However, the agnates of the widow's late husband are generally very angered by any such declaration. Women, they claim, possess "medicines" to "wake up" the sleeping child, and hence usually everything possible is done to achieve this end, although often the frustrated agnates have to wait things out until the child is born.

The point is that if a man is presumed dead, and if he has left a wife and children, his full brother must become their a'asib or guardian and must look after these

children until the eldest is eighteen years old. Under these circumstances he becomes the master of the house. He is an agnate, but he wants his brother's inheritance to remain undivided, as it is in his own interest, while other agnates who are genealogically further removed from the deceased want to grab the latter's inheritance as fast as possible.

In sum, the phenomenon of the amgun or 'sleeping child' may be viewed not only as a widespread institution in Berber Morocco, but also as a device - whereby a barren woman may cover her condition and a device to cover up adultery.

3.4.2 Circumcision

All boys are circumcised in accordance with Muslim practice but the age at which this occurs depends upon the relative wealth of his father, as circumcision (ikhtan, sing. akhtan) necessitates a big feast. Men who have little money generally leave their children uncircumcised up to as late as nine years old. Today it can be carried out free of charge in the local dispensary at government expense, with no ensuing feast. An ahajjam (barber bleeder) normally performs the job, generally circumcising several boys at a time.

The feast lasts for two days, with the rite performed on the first. It must be done in a room with two doors, and when the barber has finished, he leaves by the exit door. Here he must run the gauntlet of the assembled women who are waiting behind the door in order to beat him over the head with their slippers, so that their young sons will be cured quickly. However, women often divide up because the barber often leaves by a door other than the one he has indicated, and they want to be sure that at least some of their number get to hit him.

A boy becomes a shepherd several months after he is circumcised. As among Muslims generally, there is among the Ait 'Atta a marked lack of ritual concerned with the attainment of puberty. However, the beginnings of adolescence are correlated with the observance of the Ramadan fast. Now too, adolescent boys start to help their fathers, and adolescent girls their mothers, in the sex division of labour: for although women too must observe Ramadan, the implicit distinction between childhood and adolescence which is linked up with it also marks a major step in the segregation of the sexes in later life.

3.4.3 Marriage

Among the Ait 'Atta, as among other Central Atlas

Berbers, the payment of true bridewealth (sdaq) as the Shari'a concept is known was quite unknown until Independence. Since then it has been minimal and the bride's father generally pockets the change after buying his daughter a minimum of new clothing and furnishings (aruku) to take with her to the groom's house on the day of the marriage ritual. This lip service paid to Muslim Law with respect to bridewealth underscores the fact that bridewealth is foreign to the customary Berber practice that the groom's father must pay heavily in sheep killed and in feasting during his son's wedding.

Neither the term nor the concept of betrothal exists. Nonetheless, marriages are always arranged between the parents of the prospective bride (tislit), and groom (isli) (8) who are themselves seldom if ever consulted. The first ritual action preparatory to marriage consists of the youth's father going to see the girl's father with a specific gift in kind known as tutra. The tutra, in no way to be construed as bridewealth, consists of two or three cones of sugar, two kilograms of henna, some kohl, and four to five kilograms of dates. It also includes a woman's wrap-around sheet (l-izar), a pair of leather slippers, a belt and a headscarf for the bride's mother. It represents only a small outlay of cash, and if the proposal is not accepted, the groom's father takes it all back. If, however, the tutra is accepted, the groom's father later on gives the bride's father a turban, a long white shirt and a pair of sandals, gives the same clothing as previously offered to the bride's mother to the bride herself.

Acceptance of the tutra means that the marriage (tamghra) will take place (9). All that remains is to fix the date. The period of August to November is a favourite one for marriages all over Morocco, as the harvest has been brought in and the autumn ploughing has not yet begun.

Since Independence, the bride and her father or, if he is dead, her brother go to the qadi, on the day before the marriage ritual, with the groom, in order to get the marriage document drawn up in Arabic and signed both by him and by two of his notaries public, ('adul). Before Independence the marriage contract was effected purely verbally, with the local fqih, the Qur'anic schoolmaster, and eight important local community members acting as witnesses (iniyan or inigan). Their testimony provided the legal act of marriage just as the tutra marked its first ritual act.

The next day the wedding begins, and a three-day feast (ma'ruf) is normal. Wealthy individuals may even spin it out to six days. The poor, however, generally indulge in a small one-night feast called timingas, with only one sheep slaughtered and a small number of guests present. The critical feature is the fact that even just one night of celebration renders the feast halal (licit) in local eyes,

whereas none at all would render it haram (forbidden).

The first day of a three-day feast is marked by traditional ahidus dancing at both the groom's and the bride's houses or tents (10). Guests begin to arrive about 7.00 pm and the dancing and feasting go on until 4.00 am the next morning. On the second day the groom either sends a mule over to the bride's house or tent in order to fetch her and her party, or she is mounted on a mule provided by her agnates. She has been specially hennaed and prepared for the journey by the women of her family and her face is completely covered by a red veil. One man or boy, generally a younger brother, mounts the mule behind her in order to steady her, as women do not normally know how to ride mules. The backbone of the bridal party consists of four young men, often called islan (pl. of isli) but more accurately, in this context, referred to as isnain (sing. asnai: for isli should properly refer to the groom alone); and their duty is to protect her, because her parents must stay behind. One of her isnain leads the mule, another walks behind it and the other two walk on either side of it.

During the journey to the groom's residence, groups of other young men constantly appear and try to snatch bits and pieces of the bride's clothing or her slippers. This her isnain must prevent at all costs, shooting off cap pistols or flintlocks loaded with blanks at the intruders, for gunfire is an integral part of the hullabaloo of an Ait 'Atta wedding party. Indeed, the number of isnain/islan should equal the number of other people in the party, and whenever the latter fire a shot, the isnain must reciprocate. If they are unable to protect the bride from the theft of any of her clothing, they must pay. Before the bride's arrival, the groom sacrifices a sheep for her isnain, and if they have been able to keep others from stealing things from the bride, they may keep it; but if anything has been stolen, they must pay the thief with the meat.

When the bridal party arrives at the groom's house, it circumnavigates it three times in a counterclockwise direction. Then the isnain take the bride off the mule, carry her into the tent and deposit her there. And there she must remain for the duration of the ceremony.

The fact that the bride has been placed in the groom's house or tent is a signal for the ahidus dancing to begin. The ahidus song and dance form is a major cultural hallmark of the transhumant Berber region, just as are its opposite numbers, the ahwash of the Western Atlas and the Sus, and the aya-ralla-buya refrain and dance of the Rif. it is danced and chanted by members of both sexes, either men and women alternating in a circle - typical of the Ait Hadiddu and the Ait Murghad and of the Ait Yafalman generally - or with the members of each sex in parallel lines facing each other, the standard procedure among the

Ait 'Atta.

Both sexes dance, and both sexes chant, but only the men provide the swinging rhythmical accompaniment on deep-toned tambourines (allun), made of wooden hoops with goathide stretched across one side only and a snare underneath. Among the Ait 'Atta the accompaniment is measured and sedate. The women who dance the ahidus other than at weddings are all divorcees, sometimes even with babies on their backs, a fact which stands in striking contrast to the rule prevailing in the Central Rif where only unmarried girls, always traditionally veiled, may dance the aya-ralla-buya.

The ahidus of the Central Atlas serves a quite specific purpose. Women who dance at it are, as divorcees, considered to be sexually available, and under cover of darkness, when the dancing is over, couples pair off and head for the bushes. Such is the norm among all Middle Atlas tribes and most Central Atlas ones who stage the ahidus at almost any ritual occasion. But the Ait 'Atta have a puritanical streak - after the pacification of the Saghru in 1933 'Assu u-Ba Slam, the leader of the 'Atta resistance who became qaid under the French, outlawed the dancing of the ahidus in his bailiwick by any women except during weddings despite a French attempt to block this reform.

At Usikis, the bride and groom who have spent the first two nights apart in their respective parental houses join the dancers and dance opposite each other on the last night of festivities. The bride has now unveiled so that everyone can see if she is pretty or not. The rule in most areas is that on the third night the groom, who has generally not seen his bride at all during the feast, deflowers her. There is no question in 'Attaland of jubilant women exhibiting a white handkerchief covered with hymenal blood, as it is assumed that all girls are automatically virgins before marriage. In any case, the dancing always goes on one more night after defloration in order to allow the bride and groom to participate.

3.4.4. Fornication and Adultery

Although Islamic culture places a very high value on premarital virginity in women, non-virginal brides have recourse to various subterfuges. However, if a bride is not a virgin, the groom can cover up for her voluntarily. More normally, he will tell everyone the next morning to stop the dancing and go home. He then demands furiously that the bride's parents return all the money he has given them for her and to which he is legally entitled - no doubt one good reason why the tutra is so low.

'Atta attitudes toward adultery (zina) form a very

natural confluence of their opprobrium of non-virgin brides. An unfaithful wife and her lover are generally killed by her outraged husband, if caught in flagrante delictu. In siba days, before the Protectorate, not only did the husband not have to pay any fine to the councilmembers of his clan, but his action was socially approved. In French times he spent a token two to three months in prison. Very rarely an outraged husband might force his wife's lover to pay all the expenses for a re-marriage to her if he was still in love with her, for the adultery had rendered her haram, forbidden. The lover paid for a feast at which two or three sheep were sacrificed, while a fqih was called to read the fatiha, the opening chapter of the Qur'an, which in effect constituted a new marriage ceremony and rendered her halal.

3.4.5 Divorce

Proceedings for divorce (arzum) may normally be initiated only by a husband (11), except when his impotence is proven. In this case his wife may obtain the divorce. The divorced wife always retains the right to keep her tutra or its equivalent in possessions, as it is hers, pure and simple. As elsewhere in Morocco, a so-called "three-time" divorce (Ar. talaq ath-thalith), in which the husband repeats the divorce formula three times in front of witnesses, is final. In siba times only two or three such witnesses, who were also imqqranen, councillors in the local community, were necessary. Since 1956, however, a written divorce document must be drawn up and signed by the qadi and two 'adul - as the testimony of a notary is considered equivalent, in Muslim Law, to that of six ordinary witnesses.

When the husband initiates divorce, recognised grounds are his wife's barrenness, that she does not take care of the house and that he suspects her of adultery.

Grounds for the wife to initiate the action are that husband and wife do not get along or that she does not get along with her husband's parents, for residence patterns are totally patrilocal and virilocal. At times, a wife can pester her husband into giving her a divorce on these grounds. But if she does obtain his consent, throughout the greater part of 'Attaland, he almost always forbids her to remarry with up to ten men with whom he suspects she may have been carrying on (12). In the Saghru a woman who has gained a divorce in this way is even forbidden to remarry any man to whom she has been speaking; and the qadi since Independence has recognised this. If one of these men should marry her he must support the full expense of the marriage feast. Such a burden is considerable, particularly as almost all divorced

Wedding procession (Usikis) 1961

The bride (Usikis) 1961

Ahidus (Msimrir) 1962

Ahidus (Iknіwn) 1965

men remarry, as do an estimated 80 per cent of divorced women.

Although marriage has both a legal and a ritual dimension, divorce has only a legal dimension, through the testimony of the iniyan or, latterly, the qadi's signature on the divorce document. There is, furthermore, no contactual element to divorce. Also there is no exchange at marriage except for the tutra which belongs to the bride.

Another important concomitant to divorce is that it does not involve any mutual economic obligations. Should the ex-wife have a child lactating at her breast, she keeps it until it is weaned and then returns it to her ex-husband, who in this one case and during this time must pay all expenses incurred.

Any "fault" at divorce is always, or almost always, assigned to the wife. A woman has no right to refuse divorce; only a man has this right, as might be expected in a strongly patrilineal and male-dominated society in which the sexes are kept well apart. Finally, not only are there no social pressures against divorce but no steps are ever taken to reconcile the spouses and to prevent it. The decision to divorce rests entirely with the husband.

A divorce takes effect immediately on the husband's decision. Spouses may be separated for one or two days beforehand, and the wife then goes to her father's house.

The ex-husband always has custody of the children. He continues to live in his own house, and the ex-wife continues to live with her father or brothers until she is remarried. There is no notion of a "broken home" and all the role models remain intact. The role dyads (13) are the same in households of divorce as in those of no divorce. In a household of divorce the husband's sister or his mother acts as the mother of his children until he remarries.

Divorce is generally considered to be unfortunate, but it is not really a source of shame or embarrassment as it is permitted by the Qur'an and by Muslim Law. Although both sexes may lose status through divorce, neither loses property, and neither a divorced man nor a divorced woman has any real liabilities. A divorced woman is, of course, considered a less desirable mate than a divorced man, as she is no longer a virgin and has hence greatly depreciated in value. A divorced woman with a lactating child is in a particularly difficult position. A divorced man is not necessarily considered a less desirable mate.

A man has, of course, no more relations with his ex-affines after his divorce, although there is no change in his relationship with his own kin. There is, however, in Moroccan Berber society generally, a strong correlation between divorce and violence, and specifically, between divorce and wife-beating. In this respect the Ait 'Atta are no exception.

There are no situations in which divorced persons are

not free to remarry. There are, however, significant differences between the remarriage of a divorcee and a first marriage. A divorcee on remarriage needs only four to five iniyan and she walks to the groom's house or tent instead of being escorted on a mule. The ritual marriage ceremony lasts one night only, while a lesser tutra is paid, and there is very little expenditure on the ma'ruf, the marriage feast.

Any widow, according to Muslim law, may be inherited by the brother of her deceased husband, who in this capacity marries her, hence allowing no possible loss of property; and she may thus continue to bear children to her deceased husband's brother in the brother's name.

This institution, known as widow inheritance, exists among the Ait 'Atta although its actual statistical incidence is fairly negligible; but the widow can refuse to be inherited or taken over in this way, if she so wishes. If such is the case, she receives her customary one-eighth (1/8) share of her deceased husband's property.

As widows and divorcees both fall into exactly the same cultural and structural categories, after the 'idda, the three-month waiting period, is over a widow is then free to be remarried to anyone else who may want her. There are no limits to legal marriage after any number of divorces, although in face-to-face communities such as those of the Ait 'Atta, the new spouse is apt to know the old one. They avoid each other as much as possible, for the one is very likely to try to poison the other!

Any consideration of divorce entails ipso facto a consideration of remarriage and of households of remarriage. In this connection, the minimally optimal household of remarriage is just the same as that of a first marriage. The new wife takes over the role of mother to the divorcee's wife's children, who are now iwjilen (sing. awujil) or "orphans", for they become such when they no longer have their mother, or indeed through the loss of either or both parents. The cultural content of the behaviour of step parents toward stepchildren is that the latter remain badly dressed, badly fed and badly brought up, and that they detest the former.

3.4.6 Death and Burial

In death and burial there are no deviations from Moroccan Muslim norms. A dead person is known as amttin. When anyone dies, all the kin weep, and then take the body to a place called tamsirt, located either in the local community mosque or beside the cemetery (imdran). If the corpse is that of a man, the fqih washes it with a black rag in hot water (as used in ablutions), rolls it in a white shroud (1-ukfen) and sews up the shroud with a

special needle. If it is a woman who has died, another old woman, one who prays and who is "like a female fqih", must wash the body and enshroud it.

The body is then taken outside the tamsirt, while everyone prays. When the prayer is over, the body is taken in an open wooden coffin to the grave which has already been prepared in the community cemetery, with all the male members of the deceased's lineage acting as pall bearers. In any Muslim community, funerals occur as soon after death as possible: if a person dies in the morning, he is buried that same afternoon, although if he dies in the afternoon, evening or night, the funeral is held the next morning.

Women do not attend funerals, not even those of other women. Only men attend, and they must be cleanly dressed and in a state of ritual purity. However, during a tribal war or feud, women gathered up the corpses and buried them without washing them.

Any cemetery is divided up into plots which correspond to the constituent agnatic lineages of the community: a dead woman, married or not, is buried with her own agnates, while her children are buried in the plot of her husband's lineage.

The graves of men and women are just the same, with parallel head and foot stones, and they may be of any length. The only difference is in the width. For a man, the width must be one handspan only (which accommodates most 'Atta, as few, if any, are fat), while for a woman it must be the same width plus the combined width of the index and third fingers joined together, to allow for her breasts.

The body is placed in the grave in an extended position on its back, with its face turned east, toward Mecca, while the fqih intones appropriate chapters of the Qur'an, in which those who know them also join in. (One informant remarked that those who did not know the Qur'an merely say al-hamdu-li-llah, "Praise be to God", particularly if they did not get on with the deceased during his lifetime). After the grave has been covered up, branches are placed over it and left there for a year, in order to keep jackals away. Once this has been done, everyone goes home and the mortuary ritual is over except for the fact that on the seventh day after the death occurred, the kinsmen of the deceased sacrifice a sheep and make a kuskus feast for all the mourners who attended the funeral.

Should a stranger passing through any community die there, its headman or amghar has already been allocated the funds necessary to pay for his shroud and funeral.

When a small or unmarried boy dies, nobody really weeps for him, as he is considered to be completely innocent and an ayddid n-l-jinnt, a "bird of Heaven". When everyone else has died, the "bird of Heaven" will go to the anrar n-l-hisab, the "threshing floor of the reckoning",

an incredibly hot place, so that God may judge him. He then goes to Heaven, takes a bath in cold water, and returns to shake a little cold water on the heads of his kinsmen awaiting judgement on the "threshing floor of the reckoning".

When an unmarried girl dies, the women cry out their piercing tighuratin, ululations, normally reserved for occasions of joy: it is believed either that the girl is now married to Sidna Azra'il, the Angel of Death, or that she will get married in the hereafter.

Finally, the belief should be noted that two or three days after a baby is born, Sidna Jibra'il, the Angel Gabriel, visits him and asks him three questions:

1. whether he is willing to accept the misery of the world,
2. whether he is willing to accept the fact that he must work in the world, and
3. whether he is willing to accept these conditions for himself and for others.

If he answers in the affirmative, he will live, if he says he will not accept them, he will die.

3.5 Religious Observance

The morbid subject of death leads us into a discussion of the cultural and religious environment in which the Ait 'Atta live out their lives, for this forms an inevitable counterpart to the physical and social world in which they exist. Contrary to French views of the lack of devotion of many of the Middle Atlas Berber tribes, the devotion and piety of the Ait 'Atta is beyond question. They also see themselves as very good Muslims, and they certainly comply with the famous "five pillars" of Islam, the arkan ad-din or qawa'id al-Islam.

Nevertheless, the religious observance of the Ait 'Atta, and their relations, as lay tribesmen (a'ammi, pl. i'ammin), with the sacred have always been very largely tied up with what Muslim modernists usually describe by the opprobrious tag of "saint worship". Nonetheless, in traditional Moroccan Islam, suffused in "maraboutism", each tribe had its own saints. At the top of the saintly hierarchy was the image of the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, the spiritual-cum-temporal ruler of all Moroccans generally.

The significance of this was that the tribal patron saint could intercede with the Almighty on behalf of the tribe in question. For the Ait 'Atta, there was not only Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain but also Sidi Sa'id Ahansal. For other Berber tribes in the Atlas and other Moroccan tribes elsewhere there are similar saints, mostly cut from the same, essentially Idrisid, bolt of cloth, throughout the rural areas of the country. As Gellner has cogently observed in the context of the Berber tribes of the Central

Atlas, these strategically placed saints and saintly lineages of shurfa (sing. sharif) or, in Tamazight, igurramen (sing. agurram), are Islam, in the sense that to the local lay tribesmen they represent Islam. They are descendants of the Prophet and it is they who are Islam - for Islam is what they do (14).

3.6 Formal Observance of Islam – The "Five Pillars"

Formal observance of any religion by its practitioners is extremely difficult to gauge. Nonetheless, it does provide useful indices, even if only superficial. In the case of Islam, this must of necessity be the "five pillars" of the faith - the arkan ad-din or qawa'id al-Islam - the profession of faith, prayer five times a day, obligatory almsgiving, fasting during Ramadan and the pilgrimage to Mecca. To them is usually added jihad ("effort"), which has generally been translated as "holy war" against "unbelievers". Only two of the pillars are today observed throughout the Muslim world with any real regularity; prayer - the communal Friday noonday prayer - and Ramadan (15). However, even in 1965 the Ait 'Atta were still scrupulously observing four of the five pillars. The only one which was not observed was the hijj (hajj), the pilgrimage to Mecca.

The shahada, the profession of faith, is perhaps most significant in the context of 'pacification'. Among the Ait 'Atta, as among other Central Atlas Berbers, a martyr, a Muslim who had died defending his homeland against the Christian French during their "pacification" of the region, was known not as a mujahid, as in Moroccan Arabic and as in the Rif, but as a shahid (pl. shuhada), from the same Arabic root sh-h-d, "to testify". He was, in addition, buried where he fell, without a shroud.

As for the second "pillar", prayer or tazallit, Ait 'Atta observe the five daily prayers scrupulously. Of course, it seems to be general in the Muslim world that the older a man becomes the more scrupulously he prays - with, naturally, a view to bettering his chances in the hereafter. Nonetheless, young men also pray quietly and unobtrusively. It is extremely difficult for a non-Muslim anthropologist to obtain reliable statistics on mosque attendance at the Friday midday prayer (16). Nonetheless, most Ait 'Atta men clearly do attend it in the mosques of their respective clan-communities. They also forbid wives, sisters and daughters to attend. Women fast, but prayer is essentially a male affair.

The question of prayer raises the issue of mosques among the Ait 'Atta. Unlike a number of Middle Atlas tribes (the Zayyan, in particular), no Ait 'Atta groups have "tent-mosques" - mosques which are movable and have

movable personnel, and which join the other tents of a given clan-community group when they go on transhumance. Ait 'Atta mosques are usually what is known technically as a msalla, a prayer place. They are usually fixed open-air circles of stones of up to one and a half metres in height. However, they may also be roofed mud-and-stone structures, like houses. The qibla invariably faces south and not east toward Mecca; hence the directional confusion in 'Atta minds about south and east in general. Minarets are not needed in order for people to pray, and ablutions can be performed with sand or abrasive stones.

The Ait 'Atta mosque is thus totally unpretentious, as are the great majority of mosques in rural Morocco. It is also normal for the mosque of any local community to be placed in or near the hurm - the inviolable area of the local saint's shrine or salih - and the local cemetery is also in the same area. The 'Friday' or the 'Sermon' mosque (l-jama' n-l-khutbat) is equally unpretentious: simply a bigger ring of stones, or even the same one. The function of a mosque is for prayer, and when a Muslim prays he is responsible only to God.

The principal individual in any 'Atta community directly associated with the mosque is the fqih, who acts as the director of the community's religious life. If the size of the mosque warrants it, it will also have a mqaddim or caretaker, a local man, who sees to its upkeep and buys prayer mats and other necessities with the habus fund, if there is one, for which he is held accountable.

The fqih is invariably an outsider to the community, and is most often a stranger to 'Attaland itself, usually coming from somewhere further south. At Usikis in 1961-62, the local fqih was from the adjoining Ait Siddrat, to the South, specifically from the clan of the Ait Tukhsin. A fqih is generally contracted verbally by the community for a year at a time, but he almost always stays longer if he is liked and respected. He must be literate in Arabic, for his main job is to teach the Qur'an by rote to the boys of the community, as well as to lead the Friday noonday prayer. He had to act as the community scribe and drew up the qanun-s or customary law documents, translating them from Tamazight, at the dictation of the amghar and the council, into Arabic as he did so (17). Today he co-exists with the mudarris, the French-speaking instituteur who, since the government-sponsored promulgation of 'Operation School' in 1963, has taken care of all secular and non-Qur'anic education in rural Moroccan village-communities. Until Independence, however, the fqih ruled supreme for there was no education which was not religious. It was, furthermore, available only to boys and not to girls.

The fqih is paid every year, entirely in kind. His yearly payment, from the 'ashur or tithe, known as amnasf

n-ta'ashurt ("half-'ashur"), consists of approximately one-third to one-half a share from one-tenth of the community's barley crop, plus three days' worth of butter. In addition, every Wednesday, each of his pupils gives him an egg or 0.15 dirhams. In effect, each nuclear family in the community undertakes to provide his supper (tartbit, probably a Berberisation of tartib) every evening in rotation. If the fqih is a bachelor, his meals are brought to him every night at community expense. If he is married, each takat in the community pays him one 'abra of grain per year plus two days' worth of sheep's butter and the wool of two iguryan, or simply three days' worth of butter.

The tenth part of the harvest is the tithe, the 'ashur, which makes up a part of the obligatory almsgiving, zakah. Among Moroccan Berbers the 'ashur is paid in grain, while the zakah proper is paid in livestock. At this point the 'ashur is redivided into three equal parts: one for the fqih, one for the poor (l-masakin) and one for the giver's own poor relations. The zakah itself, in essence the third pillar of Islam, is also divided up at the end of May in exactly the same fashion, from one-tenth of the lambs and kids born to the sheep and goats of each takat.

It must be stressed that the zakah and the 'ashur is a religious obligation. This was not the case, however, with an additional tax, the tartib, which was introduced at European instigation by Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz in 1901, in order to bolster a near-bankrupt national treasury. The universally unpopular tartib lasted through the Protectorate period until King Hasan II abolished it in April 1961, exactly sixty years later. A new tax known as l-udin, (ear), was substituted for the tartib; but it was purely nominal and the same amount for everyone.

The fourth pillar, fasting (azum or uzum, from the Moroccan Arabic s-sum) during Ramadan, is perhaps the most scrupulously observed pillar of all - as elsewhere in Islam. Girls start to observe it at puberty, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, and boys somewhat later, at seventeen or eighteen: for it is held that girls mature more rapidly than boys do. There is no dancing during Ramadan except, curiously by young people on the night of Ramadan 27, the Night of Power when God sent the Qur'an down from Heaven. Everyone else prays in the mosque throughout this night. Collective oaths were never sworn during Ramadan, but deferred to a later date.

Muslim Law provides special dispensation for children under the age of puberty, for the sick and infirm, for pregnant women, for people on a long journey and for fighters in a holy war. The latter, the shuhada, seem almost invariably to have refused this dispensation during the French "pacification" and Moroccan troops, the Goums, also refused it in World War II. Everyone who has missed the fast for whatever reason is invariably anxious to make

it up later. Traditional sanctions for breaking the fast include, for example, feeding a poor man for a year. Modern sanctions in Morocco, a country which remains very conservative in this respect, involve stiff jail sentences of several months' duration. To the Ait 'Atta, however, any attempt to break the fast would be the worst form of sacrilege, for it is still a major force within the Muslim umma or community as a whole.

There is nothing very special about the 'Aid s-Sghir, the "Little Feast", known in Tamazight as 'Aid Amzzan, which commemorates the end of Ramadan. As elsewhere in Morocco, it is a time of rejoicing once the fast is over. Everyone puts on new clothes and it is a time of intensive visiting, exchange of news or gossip, and dancing.

On the 'Ashura (Muharram 10), in the Central Atlas region, everyone has freezing cold water from the Asif n-Uhansal poured over him, for it is held that on this day, at least, the water comes from the sacred Zamzam well in Mecca. There is nothing special about the Milud, the Prophet's birthday anniversary, on Rabi' al-Awwal 12 and of the canonical Islamic feasts, the only one of real note is the 'Aid l-Kbir, the "Great Feast".

The fifth pillar, the hajj, or pilgrimage to Mecca appears to be rare amongst the Ait 'Atta. Only eight people were identified as having done so during fieldwork. This total of eight makes it by no means exhaustive; but when compared with the plethora of Susis and Rifians who have earned the title, it is a most unimpressive record. There is, however, a very interesting reason for this.

In essence, it is that the majority of the Ait 'Atta and other Central Atlas Berber groups, while admitting, grudgingly, that the Prophet Muhammad is buried at Madina in Arabia, also advance the theory that he was almost buried on the cliff-face of Mt. Azurki, the Awjja n-Uzurki, in the Central Atlas. The legend, then, also naturally supports the unorthodox notion that Azurki rather than Mecca should "really" be the site of pilgrimage in the month of Dhu l-Hijja at the end of the Muslim lunar year.

According to the legend, for reasons whiich will forever remain obscure, the Prophet Muhammad died in the tribal territory of the Ait Bu Gmaz (or Bu Gimmaz). A white she-camel then transported his body to a grave which hac already been prepared for the purpose by magical means in the middle of the cliff wall of Mt. Azurki. However, as they arrived at the site, the tribesmen accompanying the camel started yelling to shoo away a flock of birds which had descended at the spot to eat grain. The she-camel thinking that they were yelling at her, took fright and decided that if they were not going to leave the Prophet's body here, she would take it off to a faraway place wher people would have to pay large sums of money in order t see it. So she took it to the Hijaz. The fact that the

Prophet was almost buried at Azurki, rather than at Madina has made the site a place of pilgrimage throughout the Central Atlas on the day of the 'Arafa, the day when the pilgrims at Mecca sacrifice the rams they have purchased in commemoration, as Muslim belief runs, of Abraham's intended sacrifice of his son Ishmael when God sent down a ram in the latter's stead. This sacrifice is the pivotal act in the whole ritual of the pilgrimage; and it is also the pivotal act at Azurki.

All over Islam, the faithful celebrate the 'Aid l-Kbir, the "Great Feast", or in Tamazight, the 'Aid Tafaska, on Dhu l-Hijja 8-10, while the pilgrimage in Mecca reaches its peak. Everyone from the tribes in the immediate vicinity of Azurki tries to spend the night of Dhu l-Hijja 9-10 there. The Ait 'Atta come from as far away as they can, and there are of course, Ait Bu Gmaz, Ihansalen, Ait Mhand, and even Ait Attab and Ait 'Atta n-Umalu from Wawizakht, all save the Ait 'Abdi of the Kusar who are generally snowed in on their plateau. On the night of Dhu l-Hijja 9, the wealthier people sacrifice a ram and leave the meat for the poor, those less well off sacrifice and eat half the meat, and then the poor eat what the others leave. On the morning of Dhu l-Hijja 10 a full-scale prayer is enjoined after the recitation and supplication of the fatiha, and any woman who wants a child leaves some threads from her belt tied to the empty grave of the Prophet. Then all go home, where each household head again performs the Aid l-Kbir sacrifice of another ram the following day.

The ram sacrificed for the 'Aid l-Kbir is called am'allim, "master" (18). Early in the year, when the sheep are lambing, any lamb destined for any kind of sacrifice has its right ear notched. It does not necessarily have to be white, although it is better that it should be. It must unequivocally be white only in the case of 'ar or 'aban offerings. A he-goat (ahuk or azalagh) may also be sacrificed to a saint, and its ear is notched in the same way.

While the ear of the am'allim is notched, the notcher must state his intention, after sacrifice, of taking the right leg, the right side, the left leg or the left side for himself. After sacrifice he may take up to three of these four most edible parts of the sheep for himself, but the fourth part is always left for the poor. Generally the notcher takes only one of the four parts, leaving the other three for the poor: for it is always possible that the poor man who will eat this mutton is himself a saint as well! The skins of sheep slaughtered for the 'Aid l-Kbir are not turned over to the poor, as in the Rif, but used as containers for churning milk into butter, because as sheep are far more numerous in the Central Atlas than in the Rif, where Rifian women churn their butter in earthenware jugs. The only other purpose to which the Ait 'Atta sometimes put

sheepskins is as prayer rugs.

In addition to the major canonical feasts, there are certain non-canonical ones - those pegged to the Julian Calendar and the "farmers' year" rather than to the Muslim lunar year. Only one of them, the 'Ansra (in Tamazight, l-Ansart) or Summer Solstice Festival, the "Feast of St. John", which is usually held on June 24 (the Julian calendar), is today of any interest. The ighf n-usugwas ("head of the year") the equivalent to New Year's Day, is of little importance, other than for the consumption of a thick wheat soup (tarwasht) cooked with butter. The Haguz, on January 14 (Julian calendar) (19), is not observed anywhere in the region.

The central theme of the 'Ansra is of purification through fire or water, or both. The name is evidently of Hebrew origin, and is found in the Old Testament, while to the Romans it symbolised the end of the cold period and the beginning of the hot one (20). As a result sea-bathing by all and sundry who live on or near the coast reaches its apex on this day. In the Central Atlas and in 'Atta-land, however, only the fire part of the ritual seems to be observed, by small boys who jump over small piles of burning logs at night. Perhaps more important, the sheep are also put near the logs, as it is held that the smoke is good for them.

3.7 Laymen and Saints

The Tamazight term i'ammin (sing. a'ammi), "illiterates", refers to laymen in general, and specifically to the illiterate mass of lay Berber tribesmen. In fact, the term i'ammin carries no really pejorative connotations. The Ait 'Atta, for example, are all i'ammin, merely by definition, in just the same way that they are all egalitarian. The same holds true for the men of all other tribal or lineage groups which do not have saintly status, whether ascribed or achieved.

Igurramen (sing. agurram) is the generic term, both in Tamazight and in Tashilhit, for saints, the equivalent of Rifian imrabdhen (sing. amrabit). In all three cases, the Berber terminology differs from that in normal use in Moroccan Arabic for, to Berbers, the distinction made in the latter language between shurfa - acknowledged descendants of the Prophet - and mrabtin - men who have acquired their saintliness through good or miraculous works - is known to all, it is not apparent terminologically. Although the Ait 'Atta and other Central Atlas Berber groups are aware of the Arabic terms shurfa and mrabtin and of their significance, Berber terminology tends to fuse the two concepts. This tendency toward fusion is consistent with the Berber, and 'Atta, view of the issue. The only

exception is in some of the southern qsur in the Dra and the Tafilalt. Here shurfa and mrabtin distinguish quite sharply between each other in ways consistent with the surrounding socio-ethnic mosaic. Nonetheless, in general it is believed that it is precisely those members of holy lineages which claim descent from the Prophet (through his daughter Lalla Fatima) who are also accredited with supernatural powers.

In addition, the distinction between the two major groups of shurfa - the Idrisids, who claim descent from Mulay Idris I (788-803 AD) and the 'Alawids, who constitute the ruling house today and who stem from the Tafilalt in the mid-seventeenth century - is only of incidental importance, for the two major holy lineages claiming Ait 'Atta allegiance both claim to be Idrisid. The relevance of this is that, historically, political relations between the Ait 'Atta and the 'Alawids were characterised by, at best, intermittent hostilities and uneasy truces. Thus those localised 'Alawid lineages in the Tafilalt under 'Atta or Yafalman protection never achieved more than a purely local importance (21).

The two holy lineages which are important here are of course the Ulad or Ait Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, a segment of the Amghariyin line of the Idrisids based at Tamsluht near Marrakesh although they have many sub-segments resident in 'Attaland, and the Ait Uggudim of the Ihansalen at Zawiya Ahansal, the descendants of Sidi Sa'id Ahansal, ably studied by Ernest Gellner, who demonstrates clearly that their claim to Idrisid descent is quite spurious (22). This fact in itself is not important, given the fact, rightly stressed by Gellner, of vox dei being in reality vox populi. The lineage consists of igurramen because they act like igurramen and are held to be igurramen by all the surrounding lay tribes.

The same is true of the Ulad Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, whose ancestor Mulay 'Abdallah himself - who died between 1568 and 1573 AD - is placed by Drague at 26 generations down from the Prophet's daughter and son-in-law Lalla Fatima and Sidna 'Ali (23). In this context, it would certainly seem that there is telescoping or foreshortening in Gellner's Ihansalen genealogy, with Sidi Sa'id Ahansal located at only 18 generations from the Prophet's daughter. As both Mulay 'Abdallah and Sidi Sa'id are held to have been contemporary with Dadda 'Atta, they must therefore have also been contemporary with each other. Indeed, Sidi Sa'id is generally held to have been much the older of the two.

Both of these holy lineages have always fulfilled the traditional role of igurramen, although Mulay 'Abdallah is the real patron saint of the 'Atta and Sidi Sa'id Ahansal's descendants cater only to some of the Ait 'Atta groups located north of Bu Maln (24). The Ait 'Atta n-

Umalu, the Ait Unir of Birnat and the Ait Wallal of the Dadss seem to be more oriented toward their own local igurramen who belong to neither of these lineages. For all the 'Atta groups south and east of Bu Maln, however, allegiance to the descendants of Mulay 'Abdallah is total.

Whether the igurramen are resident within or outside the tribal territory - and the Ait 'Atta seem to be unique with their patron saint's shrine so far from their territory - their primordial function has been to mediate conflict and to officiate at the rotation and complementarity elections of lay chiefs. Descent from the Prophet and a pacifism which contrasts sharply with the bellicosity of the local lay tribesmen are their typical features (25).

Nonetheless, there are limitations to their abilities in conflict arbitration. Although, for example, the Ait Uggudim at Zawiya Ahansal mediated conflicts between the local resident 'Atta and others, their radius of action did not extend very far south of the Central Atlas watershed. Even the Ulad Mulay 'Abdallah could only mediate inter-'Atta conflicts, and were quite powerless to settle any wars with the Ait Yafalman or the Ait Siddrat. This was because hostilities were conceived as permanent and each group had its own igurramen in any case.

In reality no single lineage-group of igurramen can be regarded as the exclusive property of a single tribe. Even though those Ait Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain who are resident in and just south of the Saghru do cater exclusively to the Ait 'Atta, the Ulad Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain at Tamsluht do not. But the interesting feature is that the Ait 'Atta act as if they did by habitually taking their donations to the mother-zawiya at Tamsluht every year in late winter or early spring. However, the Ait 'Atta very pointedly do not attend the annual musim in summer-time as a mark of what they feel to be their special dispensation. These notions need some contextual explanation.

In theory igurramen live on donations, called ziyara in Moroccan Arabic and by most Berbers, but which are known to most Ait 'Atta as (l-) 'ada, "custom, habit", a term which is used in some parts of the Muslim world, although not North Africa, to refer to customary law. In practice, it is quite impossible for them to do so, particularly if they have to dispense lavish hospitality. Wealth and generosity being major attributes of agurram-hood, it is only natural that igurramen should recoup some fraction of what they have spent on hospitality through the ziyara or 'ada donated to them - for prosperity is as crucial a test of agurram-hood as is conflict mediation, officiating at elections, or what Gellner refers to as the epiphenomenon of invoking divine blessings and performing miracles (26).

There is nothing remarkable in the fact that the Ait 'Atta tend to make their ziyara donations at Tamsluht in

February or March, because this is also the time when other Central Atlas tribes take theirs to their own igurramen. It is a time when there is not much work, as ploughing is finished and harvesting has not yet begun. The Ait 'Atta are also careful to point out that the "commercial spirit" at an agdud, the market spirit of buying and selling as in an ordinary suq, is completely secondary to its primary purpose. This is to pay homage to their own patron saint whose mausoleum or qubba conforms strictly to the model befitting a major Moroccan wali Allah, a sharif whose pedigree, miracle-working ability and baraka are uncontested. It is a mosque-zawiya complex, complete with green-tiled roof with a copper-balled jamur projecting from it, and a catafalque or tabut, in which repose the mortal remains of Mulay 'Abdallah, covered with a green silk kiswa cloth.

The Ait 'Atta thus distinguish carefully between Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain as their own patron as opposed to his also being the possible patron of others. Thus, given the very special relationship which is held to have existed between Mulay 'Abdallah and Dadda 'Atta, they come to him at a different time of the year.

There are a few other igudad, in addition to that of local members of the Ait Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain lineage at Igharm Amazdar every June, in 'Attaland. Typical is that in honour of Mulay 'Abd l-Qadir l-Jilali - a saint who has no real historical connection with Morocco but who nonetheless figures very prominently in Moroccan folklore and whose name in Tamazight often refers merely to the site of an agdud - six days after the Milud, at Igharm Amazdar. Another is the agdud of Kuya Brahim, held on Ramadan 27, the Night of Power, 4 km from Bu Gafr, where people go in order to make wishes, while putting their hands on the saint's wooden stick located at the shrine. The stick pulls up easily if the wish is fulfillable and scarcely budges if it is not (27). A two-day agdud of the Ilimshan takes place at the tomb of Kuya Lahsin, near Ikniwn, on September 10 (Julian calendar), and a three-day (formerly eight-day) agdud of the Ait Y'azza of Alnif occurs at the tomb of Sidi Mhand n-Ifrutant, on about March 15, just before transhumance begins.

By far the biggest agdud in the whole Central Atlas region is that celebrated by the shrine of Sidi Hmad u-l-Mghanni, at Imi l-Shil in the Ait Hadiddu at the end of September, but it is not an 'Atta agdud and is therefore attended only by individual 'Atta if by any at all. More germane is the much smaller agdud held every year about July by each of the tribal groups represented in the Zawiya Ahansal circle, which includes the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast.

The agud at Talmast is effectively a kind of credit institution on meat, for the orderly and equitable

distribution of meat is a major event at any agdud. The process is that each takat (household) in the taqbilt (clan group) concerned pays something toward the purchase of sheep. The "big men" (imuqqrann or ikhataren) of the clan look after the money contributed and then buy sheep with it a week before the agdud takes place. On the day of the agdud they slaughter the sheep, and all the men of the taqbilt arrive to buy the meat. When anyone purchases some meat, the fqih writes down the man's name and the amount he has promised to pay in a notebook.

But the buyer does not pay until agdud the following year. This institution is designed to help the poor. If the clan notables have shown a profit in the original purchase of the meat in the first year, they use it the next year to repair the mosque, or the irrigation ditches, or to help out people whose houses have burned. Even though Mulay 'Abd l-Qadir is vaguely recognised to be a non-local saint, Central Atlas Berbers in general place great store by him, for despite his lack of a shrine he is not only the patron of the agdud but also specialises in saving anyone who has fallen into a river and who cannot swim.

A final word may be appropriate here about the attitude of the Ait 'Atta toward Muslim religious orders (turuq, sing. tariqa), which are prevalent elsewhere in Morocco. In general they do not like them and do not join them - with one very notable exception. Qaid 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu n-Ait Ba Slam, like his father before him, is a Darqawi. In fact, their attitudes to such orders in the past can be characterised as markedly hostile: in 1919 the shaikh of the Nasiriyin Order at Tamgrut, south of Zagura, was murdered by the Ait Y'azza, and in 1927 the branch head of the nearby Zawiya 'Amr, of the same order, was also killed by the Ait Unir (28).

However, as it happens, these killings were directly linked to grave troubles in the whole area south of the Central Atlas caused by the presence of Hajj Tahami al-Glawi, who had been made Pasha of Marrakesh by the French in 1913, and by his Glawa harka. His name is still anathema to many Ait 'Atta even now. Under normal circumstances the Ait 'Atta, although they might have had little time for religious orders, would hardly have gone about killing off the latters' shaikhs. Their piety and devotion would certainly have prevented them from doing so. In the cases cited above their reasons were one hundred per cent political.

3.8 The Spiritual Domains of Men and Women

In addition to the formal observation of Islam by the Ait 'Atta there are also other factors such as witchcraft, sorcery and belief in jnun, fitting into the domain of

religion, but not into that of orthodoxy. The observance and practice of religion, in the North African world in general, is traditionally a male prerogative, and one which is observed openly, in the mosque; while its darker sides of witchcraft and sorcery are, again traditionally, practised by women in secret, in the home.

Sorcery is of course distinguished from witchcraft in normal anthropological usage, and the definitions followed here are those given by Leach, in which the former is defined as the craft of evil magic which can be learned by anyone, whereas the latter is a quality innate to its possessor (29). In the Moroccan context, sorcery, called imkurar or imkuraren by the Ait 'Atta (in Arabic, suhur) is essentially of two kinds - that which does not involve writing, which is practised by women, and that which does involve the writing of Qur'anic verses and which is solicited for a fee from the fqih, the schoolmaster at the local mosque. The use of a plural form to designate the concept is interesting, since it is held to embody the whole range of magic, witchcraft and sorcery, although concentrating on the last of these.

Any woman who specialises in the practice of sorcery is called tahargit (pl. tihargatin, from the Arabic root h-r-q-, "to burn"). The substances which she employs are many and varied - herbs, powders, potions, pieces of human hair, pieces of clothing, and certain kinds of birds or animals, generally inedible, which are deemed to have medicinal properties. She is also generally an expert at palmistry.

Women with a knowledge of sorcery are respected and feared, for they are always held to pass their knowledge on to their daughters. Monogamy, it is said, is the rule among the Ait 'Atta because one wife with all her imkurar is difficult enough: more than one would be madness, particularly as the jealousy of a first wife would drive her to poison her husband rather than allow him to take a second one. If a woman separates the upper and lower stones of a handmill and puts them at opposite ends of the room, her husband, it is held, will not have an erection. The possibilities are, in fact, endless.

The sorcery performed by the fqih always involves the writing of Qur'anic verses which are considered essential to the preparation of charms and amulets (l-hirz). But charms may also be used to remove the effects of sorcery. The amghar of Usikis had had imkurar placed on him by his wife in 1959, and two years later, wanted the local fqih to write something to dispel its effects. But the fqih wanted payment in advance which the amghar refused, so nothing was done.

The best and most expensive written charms are those known as tbarid, done by a fqih who is also a true specialist in sorcery. They are guaranteed to ward off

bullets. Hajj Tahami l-Glawi, the former pasha of Marrakesh, was said to carry one. It is also held that if one man shoots at another and the bullet penetrates the clothing without touching him, he is automatically tbarid himself and from that point on is immune to bullets.

The leading manifestation of witchcraft, as distinct from sorcery, is the evil eye known literally as such in Tamazight, allin ikhkhan (30). Any person whose eyebrows are joined together is automatically considered to have the evil eye, and should he attempt to disguise the fact by shaving or cutting the hair at the join, this just makes it worse. Women especially are often held to have touching eyebrows, and in any event they are always aided in their endeavours by Shitan.

Although eye colour appears not to be a factor, skin colour is a cardinal one. A Hartani or a black is considered to be excellent insurance against the evil eye. If a black should be among a group of white Berbers at any time that a person considered to have the evil eye should pass by, he renders automatic immunity to everyone present. Blacks and Haratin never have the evil eye themselves. Indeed, all Central Atlas Berbers believe fervently in the evil eye.

Sorcery and witchcraft lead naturally to a general consideration of what, in the minds of the Ait 'Atta, is lucky and unlucky. Again there are two distinct local concepts and categorisations, although they are by no means mutually exclusive.

1. Those things which must not be said before breakfast and
2. The right-left and white-black dichotomies.

The first set of categories is highly specific. The utterance of any of the tabooed terms presages bad luck, but each one of them has a pre-breakfast circumlocution. A representative listing includes the following terms, which are not necessarily arranged in hierarchical order - boar, or pig, dog, fox, cat, monkey, donkey, crow, Jew, Black (properly Hartani) and needle.

All of these animals, persons and objects are highly repugnant, both to the Ait 'Atta notion of what constitutes "Right Thniking About Human Behaviour", and especially Muslim and hence Ait 'Atta behaviour. The purpose was possibly to rationalise or come to terms in the natural environment with what is taboo as food or in the religious sphere. Hence the boar, ilif, becomes bu l-khair, the euphemistic "possessor of the good", before breakfast, while dog, iydi, is transmuted into anmuttar, "guardian", and the fox, ahalliw, is transmogrified into Talb 'Ali, as though he were a student of the Qur'an - although there is, oddly, no such taboo on the jackal. The cat, normally mush, becomes anigmar, "hunter", before breakfast, although in this case forgetting the circumlocution is not

serious. It is, however, extremely serious in the case of the Barbary monkey which, normally aza'dud, is given the more complimentary euphemism of bu ighulliden, "rock scrambler", in a pre-breakfast situation. However, even this circumlocution should be avoided, for it is held that monkeys were once themselves men, Berbers transformed by God into their present state for having quarrelled at a feast and having pelted each other with kuskus balls. The donkey, normally aghyul, becomes anagam before breakfast. The crow, agaiwar, is black, and as black, outside of warding off the evil eye, is not considered beautiful but beyond the pale. Crows and ravens are in effect equated with Haratin and negroes.

A pious Shah n-Allah! "The morning is God's" is uttered at the mention of the word "Jew", udai or Hartani (ahartan) for which no circumlocution exists. The word "Jew" is perhaps worse because the Jew is ukmid, "outside Islam", which is at the same time his pre-breakfast circumlocutory designation. Although it is very bad to see a Haratin or even to pronounce the word ahartan before breakfast, it is considered to be good luck to see one afterwards, as one can thus avoid the evil eye. The same holds true for blacks, (isimkhan, sing. ismakh), whom, however, as they are equated to slaves, one can see or mention before breakfast with no ill effects.

Finally, the word for needle, tismi ranks along with aza'dud, monkey as the worst term of all. Here tasarut ("key, opener") must be used, because the tismi needle, made of wood and bigger than any ordinary one, is specifically used to sew up shrouds. In fact to tell anyone that one will "pass him through the eye of a needle" (akinsik tit n-tismi) is to imply that one will trample on him, particularly in a litigation.

Neither Rifians nor Moroccan Arabic speakers have these pre-breakfast circumlocutions, nor do they stress the difference between the right and left hand, aside from using the right hand to eat with and reserving the left for the performance of bodily functions, as Muslims do everywhere. However, all the Central Atlas Berbers, the Ait 'Atta included, maintain a very definite and striking dichotomy between right and left, which is linked to that between white and black: for what is white is right and good and what is black is left and bad. "The preeminence of the right hand", to quote the title of Robert Hertz's essay, (31) is, for the Ait 'Atta, not only right but proper.

All left-handed men are nicknamed bu azilmad ("possessor of the left") and while it is very bad to eat next to a left-handed man, it is rightly regarded as positively dangerous to harvest next to a left-handed man with a sickle. However, left-handedness has its compensations: left-handed men are said to be excellent fighters and dead shots. As for women, being of less account than men, left

or right-handedness among them is considered largely immaterial.

In the area around Zawiya Ahansal where boar are numerous, and are frequently shot, the women always come down "on the sly" to extract the right tusk from the boar, never the left tusk, in order to put them around their babies' necks as protection, they say, against the evil eye. However, the right tusk also has great sorcery value and old women are always careful to collect the right tusks and then sell them.

The three-time circumambulation of a saint's tomb prior to the sacrifice of a ram is always performed counter-clockwise and even threshing with mules or other animals on the threshing floor is done in the same direction. In other words, it goes around to the right.

Sacrifice is relevant to the other facet of the dichotomy as well, for only a pure and unblemished white ram may be sacrificed, never one with any black spots. An **a'aban** peace offering, which involves the use of a sheet, must only be made with a white sheet; to offer one on a black sheet is a mortal insult and leads to immediate fighting. Ait 'Atta men dress entirely in white, while the black **asilham** which they wear over these is designed to ward off the evil eye: and the same conceptualisation of the dichotomy is present in women's clothing as well.

Related to this is the concept of **l-fal**, or luck, generally bad luck. If, for example, a person known to bring bad luck, as distinct from the evil eye, journeys with others, one of the latter should burn a fringe of his clothing without his knowledge and before the journey starts. Should a group of people be known collectively to bring bad luck, a piece of burning charcoal or a burnt match flicked upon the clothes of one of them will suffice - again, charcoal and burnt matches are black. But the process must be repeated for every journey.

On the other hand, when a new **amghar** or clan community chief was elected, he was traditionally given milk and dates, not only in order to please him but so that the year to come would be "white", and of good augur: **l-fal imallul**. The benefits of a good year is called **timilliwin**, "white things"; and similarly, our voyagers, when they reach their destination safely, partake of a meal of "porridge" (**tarwasht**), butter and kuskus, all of which, again, are white (32).

Ait 'Atta relations with **jnun** (Ar. sing. **jinn** - or in Tamazight, collectively, **ajginiwen**) still remain to be considered. Jnun, or "jinns" predate humans and animals as the invisible (and perhaps negative) replica and mirror-image of the human and animal world on earth, as Westermarck demonstrated many years ago (33). Jnun are able to transform themselves into human or animal shapes at will, and, although sometimes they are "good", the general

Moroccan belief about them is that they are "evil". A common belief holds that they were created from fire before man appeared on earth, and another that when they assume human form they resemble humans in all ways except for their lack of a subnasal furrow. At any rate, they are held to be there, present, and must be placated for, if not, disaster may result.

The jnun adore blood, and after a house is built, a sheep is always sacrificed to them as the "real owners" of the house. Because of this predilection for blood, jnun are always held to be present in large numbers at the slaughterhouse in a market. If a person should rub a little blood from the first animal slaughtered on market day around his eye and from his nasal bridge down to the tip of his nose, he will see the jnun, but if he says anything about it, they will kill him at once.

Salt and iron are both regarded as excellent preventatives against jnun, and some salt and a knife are always put beside an expectant mother so that they will not attack her baby. The Muslim formula Bismillah ar-Rahman ar-Rahim, "In the name of God, the merciful, the Compassionate", is always pronounced, before any undertaking (such as a meal or travelling) precisely to prevent Shitan and the jnun from participating - as a device of avoidance.

3.9 Fables, Folktales and Proverbs

Ait 'Atta fables and legends fall essentially into two categories: stories about animals and birds, and tales about semi-mythical figures who may have really existed. The first category is by far the more extensive of the two and some typical examples are given below.

1. Boar: A number of Berbers went hunting. They killed a boar and then began to divide up the meat. During the division, however, the hunter who was cutting up the meat cut his finger with his knife. Some of his blood fell on a piece of boar meat, and another man called attention to it. This started a fight, and the man who had cut his finger said, "Don't move the meat until I get back, as there is a piece of it which is haram" (the piece on which his blood had fallen). The same man was killed a few months later in a fight, and afterwards the survivors did not know which piece was haram, forbidden: hence they decided that the whole boar had to be declared haram - and so it is considered to this day. Thus while the injunction against pork is Qur'anic, that against boar-meat is not!

2. Stork: The stork (issghi) was once a qadi, a judge of Muslim Law, and had his office in the second

story of a house. People who wanted to see him always had to go upstairs to do so. As the qadi always maliciously put soap on the stairs to make them slippery, any individuals coming in with court cases always fell downstairs. Every time this happened the qadi would laugh: and for this reason God changed him into a stork, whose nest is always at the top of a house, and who still laughs today in the nest by making a "ta-ta-ta" sound with his beak.

3. Dog and Jackal: Dog (iydi) and Jackal (ushshn) were once brothers. Once they went out to look for sheep and rounded up a lamb. Dog told Jackal to look after the lamb while he took another turn around. When he came back he found Jackal eating the lamb. A tremendous quarrel ensued, and to this day the dog is close to the sheep and guards them, while the jackal, further off, tries to leap on them and kill them. Indeed the rainbow is known as **tislit n-w-ushshn** or **tamghra n-w-ushshn**, the "bride of the jackal" or the "wedding of the jackal", because when it emerges after a heavy rain the shepherds are cold and huddled in their tents, and jackals can easily steal sheep.

4. Hawk, Tortoise and Stork: Once Hawk (l-baz) was married to Tortoise (mizergan, because its back looks like azerg, a hand quern). Tortoise was a heavy eater and her husband Hawk used to bring her all kinds of choice partridge breasts. But she eventually tired of him, and decided to take up with Stork.

Stork, however, brought her snakes and frogs to eat which she did not like, and she told him he would simply have to learn how to hunt. So he went to Hawk and asked for hunting lessons. Hawk asked why, and Stork said his wife wanted to eat the best bits of game birds and rabbits, not snakes and frogs. Hawk immediately put two and two together, and told Stork he would show him how to hunt. He told Stork to fly up as high as he could in the sky, and then hurtle down at him (Hawk) beak first. Stork did so and landed with his beak full length into the ground several metres away from Hawk. So Hawk said, "Now I'll show you!" He flew up far higher than Stork, and then proceeded to divebomb Stork, whose beak was still unextricated. Hawk struck Stork in the back of the neck, ripped out his entrails, and as Stork was dying, said, "**Awi taswut a aswu**" "You must marry one of your own kind". The hawk is considered a very noble bird, **hurr**, and the fastest bird that flies. An Ait 'Atta proverb runs: **Hurran ighulliden ag-itrus l-baz**, "The hawk never sits on rocks but is always up in the high mountains".

5. Monkey: Once a group of Berbers had a kuskus

feast and during it they began to quarrel. During the quarrel they started throwing balls of kuskus at each other, and God, who became weary of their antics, transformed them into monkeys (iza'dad, sing. aza'dud). This is why no Berber can even think of a monkey in the morning before breakfast without using the bu ighulliden circumlocution.

6. Jackal and Hedgehog, or Bismillah vs. Bikhmillah: Jackal (ushshn) and Hedgehog (Bu Mhammad) are perhaps the most representative animal elements in all Berber folklore, and the central point in all jackal-hedgehog stories is that although Jackal is exceptionally crafty, Hedgehog invariably outwits him. Once Hedgehog prepared a large water jug which he loaded up alternately with a ball of butter, then a ball of mud, then a ball of butter, then another of mud, and so on. Having made his calculations, he invited Jackal to dinner. When they sat down to eat, Jackal said "Bismillah. In the Name of God", and took a ball of mud. Hedgehog repeated with Bikhmillah and took another ball of butter. And so it went on. Finally Jackal aasked Hedgehog how it was that he always got the mud while Hedgehog got the butter, to which Hedgehog replied, "Because you say bismillah and I say bikhmillah, and there is a certain difference between the two!"

7. The Legend of Qarun: Qarun was a rich man with poor brothers. Sidna Jibra'il (Gabriel), sent by God, came to visit him several times. The first time he came as a poor man, dressed in rags. Qarun gave him food and invited him to spend the night. Sidna Jibra'il reported on this to God, and gave Qarun a good recommendation. The next time he came again dressed in rags and Qarun's wife asked her husband why this poor man always hung around. She told Qarun to leave him among the animals, as he was filthy, but Qarun insisted and invited him in. He wanted to prepare kuskus with meat for him and looked for a sheep to slaughter. His wife objected, saying that if the sheep were to be slaughtered, how would the lambs be born? Qarun then asked for their bull, and his wife wondered, then if the bull were to be slaughtered, how would any ploughing be done? He then asked for their camel and his wife asked then, if the camel was to be slaughtered, how would they transport their baggage? Finally, at his wife's advice and exasperated, he sacrificed the cat and his wife made kuskus with it. The repast was put before Sidna Jibra'il, who said, "Sabb a mush, fakh khf-imins-inu! Get out of my dinner, cat!" The cat flew out of the kuskus and into the yard with all the other animals, who all became wild. Qarun himself was turned into an owl who cries out at night for the other animals which are lost; and Berbers say the owl (tawukt) speaks at night about Qarun's misfortune. For this reason,

Berbers today consider women as untrustworthy, and not fit to run the house.

8. Dadda l-Fahim, "The grandfather of understanding", is a famous figure in Berber folklore. Herewith follows a tale about him:

A man bought a pair of sirwal, baggy Arab trousers, which were too small for him. After he came from the market, he found that he could not get into them. So he went to see Dadda l-Fahim, who suggested that two of his agnates or friends hold the trousers open for him and that he get up into the roof of his house and jump into them ...

9. Sultan l-Fhal and the Blacks of Tafilalt (the former may in fact be the famous Sultan l-Kahal, "Black Sultan", who is semi-legendary); This Sultan was the son of the Almoravid Sultan Mulay Ya'qub al-Mansur. He wanted to conquer the Sudan because he had heard it was very rich in people. On arriving there with his warriors, he encircled the village. When the local blacks (Sudan) heard that the village was surrounded, they made three more circles around the army of the Sultan l-Fhal. Then the Sultan l-Fhal, who knew he was lost, did not want to continue the war but had to decide what to do. He walked around a bit, and found two blacks playing dama (a game akin to checkers played on a shaved cactus leaf). While they were playing he looked at them critically and saw that one of them, in a smart move, took three of the other one's "men". The Sultan thought about this, and decided that he would make the same kind of move. As an interested spectator, he then asked the players to explain the move to him. They replied that they would explain nothing at all to him unless he told them truthfully why he had come there. So he then told them, truthfully, what had happened to him and how he had been encircled. The players retorted that the solution was simple: he had to take a white (Moroccan) woman to the Sultan of the Sudanese as a gift, even though the Sudanese Sultan might or would not accept her.

As it happened, the Sudanese Sultan did not accept the woman, but in return he gave the Sultan l-Fhal his whole army, which the Sultan l-Fhal did not need. However, he took the army, and the blacks all marched northwards on foot. Every time they reached a village and some of them were tired, they stayed there. Most of the more courageous blacks, who could still walk, however, came with the Sultan l-Fhal to Tafilalt. And that was where he left them, for, although they are now dispersed, most of the blacks in Morocco are still to be found in Tafilalt.

10. Proverbs and Common Sayings:

a. Ki mir u nik mir; mai diran adisug ughyal? "You are a prince and I am a prince, so who is left to drive the donkeys? (Arabic original, which rhymes: Inta mir, wa ana mir, wa shkun li bgha isug l-hamir?)
This proverb is the Moroccan equivalent to the American "All Chiefs and no Indians".

b. Sawul si minnik! "Speak your own language!" Berbers say this should one of them speak Arabic or French in their presence, as he speaks "with another mouth". For this reason, on hearing anyone speaking a non-Berber language, an upcountry tribesman will reply either (in Arabic) Ma n'araf l-'arabiya or, better (in Berber), Ur sinakh ta'raft, "I don't know Arabic!".

c. Ahrui na illan saslikh atittan, "The shirt which is next to the skin is the one that scratches". In other words, one's neighbours are one's real enemies, and people further away do not matter.

d. Zig ifullusen al-ifunasen, "From chickens to cattle" - said of any incorrigible thief whose depredations increase each time he goes out to steal.

e. Unna midar ur illi sa'd asinga Sa'id, "That man has no luck even if he is named Sa'id" ,(sa'd, luck, is derived from the same root as Sa'id, a man's name). This proverb is generally applied to a hardworking man who nonetheles stays poor.

f. Ismakh ikhatar dar ikhf-ins imzzi dar midden, "A black may think he is important, but the others around him (Berbers) do not share his opinion.

g. Ku yan adizri wa tsihi-ins iddu, "Each man stays his time and then goes". This proverb is often evoked regarding the annual election of chiefs, imgharen.

h. A'arab uri gi ugmak, a ashilhay, "An Arab is not your brother, oh Berber" (with the use of Tashilhit term ashilhay rather than Tamazight term amazigh, for "Berber"). A virtual proverb created in the early 1960s by a Berber regionalist singer over Radio Maroc, Muha u-Muzun, imprisoned on several occasions by the regime.

i. Umma ikkad tamttut-ns, ikka dawas, "Whoever beats his wife is worth less than a woman". Even so, many Berbers are wife-beaters!

Chapter Notes

1. There is an interesting alleged ethnic difference between Berbers and Arabs in dagger-wearing and handling. Berbers always wear their daggers on the left side to be drawn out of the sheath with the right hand. The curved point within the sheath, however, is always pointed down to insure that the dagger will jump into its owner's hand with the cutting edge foremost. With Arabs, the point of the dagger within the sheath is always up, so that when the dagger is drawn, the cutting edge is pointed toward the owner and not toward his adversary.

2 Aberrant women's headdresses were formerly to be found among the Ait Unibgi of the Rtab, the Ait Khabbash of Tawuz and the Msuffa of Zagura, although the last mentioned, at least, have now adopted the standard one.

The term kizzaw is that used to describe the whole triangular complex of headdress and hair underneath.

3 Panouse, op. cit., 1957, p.172, gives some excellent examples, and even maintains that the skin membrane covering the mouflon's frontal horn boss allows it to fall down ravines on its head in order to escape its pursuers.

4 The tajin is a standard item on the Moroccan menu, one of its least attractive features as manifested among the Ait 'Atta. The word refers both to the earthenware dish in which it is cooked and to the contents.

5 Known in the Rif as itsudhas or ittas dhags, "it sleeps", and in Moroccan Arabic as ragid or bu margud. In Tamazight the derivation is from the root g-n (-n), "to sleep".

6 A good account of the institution is to be found in Georges Marcy, "Le Problème du Droit Coutoumier Berbère", La France Méditérranéenne et Africaine, 1, 1939, pp.7-70, republished in Revue Algérienne, Tunisienne et Marocaine de Législation et de Jurisprudence, 1954, pp.127-170, esp. p.143.

7 It is also believed that if a woman chews or swallows the seeds or leaves of certain plants (such as one locally known as l-harmin) this will also produce a sleeping child.

8 These are also, rather poetically, the names of two

twin lakes in Ait Hadiddu territory, on a high plateau above Imishil: a bigger one, Isli, for the groom and a smaller one Ṭislit, for the bride. There ia also a lineage of Ait Tislit, "children of the bride", in the Ait Sa'id w-Ishshu clan of the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu.

9 Tamghra alludes only to the marriage ceremony, while there seems to be no exact term in the vernacular for marriage qua institution, only itahal, "he is married", or titahal, "she is married".

10 As marriages occur in late summer or early autumn, transhumants marry from one tent to another, while those at home marry either within a single igharm or from one igharm to another.

11 Irzma-s, "he divorced her". There are no terms for a conceptualisation of separation or annulment in the vernacular.

12 For example, four men among the Ait Bu Iknifen of Imidar, seven to ten men among the Ait Khalifa of Marrutsha, and ten among any number of other 'Atta communities.

13 There are eight role dyads in a minimally optional household:

1. aryaz-tamttut, husband-wife;
2. ba-yus, father-son;
3. ba-yillis, father-daughter;
4. ma-yus, mother-son;
5. ma-yillis, mother-daughter;
6. iyma/igma - iyma/igma, brother-brother;
7. iyma/igma-utma, brother-sister;
8. utma-utma, sister-sister.

It should be noted that the forms of iyma and igma, meaning "brother" are one and the same: the difference is purely one of pronounciation, and the former is more generalized throughout 'Attaland.

14 Gellmer, op. cit., p.149.

15 André Adam, "Quelques Réflexions sur la Sociologie Musulmane", in Mélanges Le Tourneau, I, in Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditérrannée, Nos. 13-14, 1, 1973, pp.15-21.

16 Ibid., p.20.

17 The fqih also does any accounting connected with the mosque and its associated habus property, if it

has any: de Ligniville, "La Coutume Privée des Ait Atta du Sahara", MS., op. cit., 1937, says it was a common practice among the Ait 'Atta to put land into habus and thus to consecrate it for the mosque, and that the mal n-l-jama' or mosque property is made up by an annual contribution of all landowners of the qsar or the clan. The capital is then administered by the ajmu' under the control of the amghar. The fqih then worked up the balance sheet annually, when the amghar changed.

This is quite plausible, as is the same author's notation that a man could only set up a habus for his heirs collectively, not for any one of them, which was done in order to safeguard valuable objects such as guns; but he makes no comment as to individual locality. The Friday mosque at Usikis, for example, has much habus land, but that at Talmast has none. Such generalisations, therefore, should always be qualified.

18 The feminine form is tam'allimt, pl. tim'allimin; and it will be recalled that tim'allimin refers to white things of good augury.

19 For a description of the Haguz, as formerly observed in the North Zone, cf. Fernando Valderrama Martinez, Manual del Maestro Espanol en la Escuela Marroqui, Tetuan: Editora Marroqui, 1955, pp.74-76.

20 ibid., pp.76-77.

21 Protection of this sort, in which the Ait 'Atta or the Ait Yafalman acted as the secular arm of the somewhat subservient shurfa and mrabtin lineages of the Tafilalt, was known as taisa. It evidently involved sacrifice on the part of the protegés and was non-reciprocal in character.

22 Gellner, op. cit., 1969, pp.264-265.

23 Drague, op. cit., 1951, Tableaux IV-V. It should be pointed out that the genealogy as Drague gives it is of a spiritual rather than an actual kind, and passes from the Prophet's daughter through to Abu Lahsin 'Ali ibn 'Abdallah ibn Jabbar ash-Shadhili (1175-1258 AD), at Generational Level 15, and from there to Abu 'Abdallah ibn al-Husain al-Amghari, or Mulay 'Abdallah bin Hsain, at Generational Level 26.

24 The Ait Usikis and the Ait Msimrir give their annual donations for the most part to the Ait Uggudim of

the Ihansalen, although evidently a fraction of these donations is also taken south to the Zawiya Tidrit, whose leader is a member of the equally Ihansalen clan (in their own view) of the Ait Tighanimin (whose claim to agurram-hood is contested by the other Ihansalen clans) and who have probably been established in their present residence for at least a century.

25 Gellner, op. cit., 1969, pp.74-80.

26 Gellner, op. cit., 1969, pp.78-80. But why, one may legitimately ask, an epiphenomenon? Just because of the "miraculous" factor, and the "invisibility component", as one might label it? However, it can be given a perfectly simple structural explanation in terms of the fact that in any large saintly lineage there are always "holy, holy" individuals and "lay holy" individuals, see Hart op. cit., 1970, pp.26-34, and Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif, op. cit., 1976, Chap.10, pp.256-260.

27 The agdud of Khuya Brahim has a justificatory legend. Khuya Brahim of the Ait Bu Dawud was a notorious thief. One day, in the Saghru, he had stolen a sheep and was eating it. But behind a rock there was a woman who had just given birth to a baby. He heard her and the baby both crying, so he passed them pieces of meat over the rock. She ate well and her health was restored. She praised Khuya Brahim and prayed to God to make him "like a saint". From that day on, he never stole again. He stayed in the same spot and then died, so a tomb was built for him over his stick.

28 Spillmann, op. cit., 1931, pp.80-81, 87, & Drague, op. cit., ca.1951, p.195.

29 E.R. Leach, art. "Sorcery (Also Witchcraft)", in Julius Gould and William K. Kolb, Eds., A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, London, Tavistock, 1964, pp.684-686.

30 Ikhkha in the singular is "bad", while in the plural, ikhkhan, it also means "excrement". Allin, "eyes", has as its singular form tit.

31 Robert Hertz, Death and the Right Hand, trans. by Rodney and Claudia Needham, London: Cohen and West, 1960, pp.155-160.

32 In the modern context, and as of the mid-1960s, at

least, when King Hasan II and his entourage passed through any village or town in Morocco, he was fed the traditional milk and dates and thus the village concerned was considered to acquire l-fal imallul, "white luck".

33 Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 2 vols., London: Macmillan, 1926, esp. vol.I, Chaps. IV-VI.

4 PATRONS AND CLIENTS: AIT 'ATTA RELATIONS WITH LOWER SOCIAL STRATA

The Ait 'Atta social world, rather like their religious world, is heterogeneous and complex. Apart from the Ait 'Atta themselves, there are other social and ethnic groups with which they coexist and which they dominate as a result of their historical expansion and discontinuous segmentary social organisation. Indeed Southern Morocco, particularly its "pre-Saharan" zone south of the Atlas and around its smaller subsidiary chains, the Saghru, the Ugnat and the Bani, is an "ethnic mosaic", a "mosaic of peoples", (1). The mosaic is a complex in which the Ait 'Atta are but a single stone - albeit a dominating one, discontinuously reduplicated in the Dra and the Tafilalt (2).

It is unfortunate that so much research has been concentrated on the Dra Valley rather than the Bani further west or the various oasis areas to the east in the Tafilalt (3). Thus, because we know more about the Dra than its neighbouring regions, it has come to act as a kind of model, even as a laboratory, for the area at large. Nonetheless, although the social, structural and hierarchical accommodations to oasis environments show broad general similarities, the areas cannot truly be said to be mere copies of each other.

One problem is to determine what kinds of groups, hierarchised or stratified, are involved in this region. It would be tempting to use the concept of "caste", for certain crucial earmarks of a caste system are indeed present - occupation, endogamy and, perhaps to a lesser extent, hierarchisation - but it would also be both simplistic and misleading. Dumont has demonstrated that caste as a total social system exists only on the Indian subcontinent, although Maquet also argues cogently that the concept can be applied to the traditional domination of the Tutsi over the Hutu in Rwanda before 1964 (4).

But it cannot be applied here, because of the three minority groups which fell under 'Atta protection in the southern river valleys - the Jews, the non-Haratin blacks and hrar (pl. of hurr) or freedmen, and the Haratin proper - the last Jews had left their communities at Amzru

(near Zagura) and elsewhere either for Casablanca, France, Israel or Canada by mid-1963. Although there was also considerable tension in some parts of the region between the Haratin and their 'Atta ex-patrons, the Haratin and the blacks of Southern Morocco generally are simply not numerous enough for such tension to have had political repercussions beyond a purely local level (5). There are now only two colour-based minority groups left, the slaves or ex-slaves and the hrar, who are of recent Sudanese origin, and the Haratin, who represent a very old population indeed. Coon sums it up by saying that blacks are the principal service personnel among North African Berbers, whether agricultural or transhumant, and have probably been so since the introduction of iron into the Maghrib early in the Christian era - for almost everywhere except in the Rif, blacksmithing is an exclusively negroid occupation (6).

A sixfold classificatory scheme was proposed in 1947 by Jacques-Meunié for the Dra Valley:

1. Ait 'Atta
2. tributary or semi-tributary Arab tribes - the 'Arib and the Bni Mhammad,
3. mrabtin and shurfa,
4. slaves and hrar
5. Haratin or Drawa, also known to themselves as Ait Dra and to the Ait 'Atta as ait tmurt, "people of protection",
6. Jews.

This scheme seems to be over-elaborate, but it has at least the merit of pinpointing most of the ethnic groups of the region. The factor which until the end of the Protectorate linked them together was that of protection, known as tamurt in Tamazight and as ra'aya in Arabic. This was extended primarily by the Ait 'Atta, and secondarily by the 'Arib, to the various other ethnic groups as described below.

4.1 The Jews

The Jews (8), not only in 'Attaland but everywhere else in rural Morocco, were at the very bottom of the social order. Made to wear black skullcaps which set them off from all Muslims, they were in a social situation of safety and immunity in humility, as well as in one of extreme economic specialisation. They were jewellers and in the Rif packsaddle makers.

Jacques-Meunié notes that in the Dra there were two groups of Jews in the Ktawa, in the qsur of Bni Hayyun and Bni Sbih, but none in the Mhamid (9). This clashes with information from Niclausse and from Flamand (10) which will be discussed below.

The Jewish population in the southern Moroccan oases was very old, probably preceded only by the Bushmanoid ancestors of the Haratin (11). Nevertheless, Jacques-Meunié states that most Jewish silversmiths in the Ktawa had come there originally only fifty or sixty years before they left, in the 1950s and 1960s, from communities in the Dadss. They were never numerous: Spillman lists only 355 nuclear families for the Mzgita, Ait Zirri, Tinzulin, Tarnata, Fazwata, Ktawa and Mhamid in 1931. The Répertoire Alphabétique lists a total population of 537 Jews in all of 'Attaland for 1939. According to the 1960 census the Jewish population in Ait 'Atta "bureaux" had only increased to 913 (12). Clearly the southern millah-s had begun to empty as early as 1948 and the first Arab-Israeli War, as Flamand has noted (13).

Where there were Jews, notably the Dra, an w-'Atta would always speak of udai-nu, pl. udain-nakh (fem. tudait, pl. tudayin) "my Jew, our Jews", in order to donate possession. Reciprocally, the Jew addressed his master as sidi, "my lord" - and the Haratin habitually did the same. The relationship between Jew and w-'Atta was one of hurma, inviolability. Each Jewish family had to sacrifice a sheep to a w-'Atta who then became their amzttid and who was totally responsible for them. The Jews in effect neither owned property nor worked in the fields but instead only made jewellery for their protector's womenfolk. There was no social mixing of guests at Jewish and 'Atta ceremonial events, for the 'Atta patron only came to see his Jewish client on business. Nonetheless, the latter was expected to bring his sidi a gift of jewellery or meat on every Muslim feast day because Jewish pedlars habitually travelled from one suq to another and caused much extra work for their protectors in case of trouble.

The very real immunity of the Jews through their humble status was such that it was most unusual for any real trouble to arise between them and other ethnic groups in the region. Flamand observes that Jews themselves admitted that the Ait 'Atta took their role of protectors very much to heart and that more than one individual who attempted to pillage a Jew was forced at gunpoint to return the loot. Jews could even mock the Haratin by threatening them with reprisals from their protectors. When the French advance began in the Dra, the qsar of Bni Sbih was bombed and the majority of the Jews in the millah sought refuge with the Ait Isful of Blida, who were allies of the French. Some Jews, clients of the Ait Bu Dawud who continued to resist, switched protectors after sacrificing a second time (14). A Hartani who murdered a Jew in Mhamid about 1920 fled from his oasis because the latter's w-'Atta protector wanted blood. The Ait 'Atta clearly did take their duties as protectors and patrons very seriously.

Although ideally Berbers and Jews tried to live apart

from each other, the social fact of protection, as Flamand observes, engendered the other social fact of cohabitation (15). If a Jewsih client moved into one of his patron's appartments in the qsar, he usually paid an annual rent in gifts. He did not contribute to his patron's expenses, such as reception of guests or cost of ammunition, but sometimes the protector would invite himself to the Jew's table (16).

Cohabitation, widespread in the Dra and less so in the Tafilalt (17), as well as patronage and the Jew's pariah status, all helped to engender a profound contempt among the Ait 'Atta, even though it was masked by courtesy. It was said that a Berber had to sleep until 10.00 am to avoid seeing a Jew (or a black or Hartani) in front of him before breakfast (18). We need only recall the pre-breakfast circumlocutions for members of these despised ethnic groups.

In fact, the relationship was very unequal and the Jew as a dhimmi, although technically a free non-Muslim subject in a Muslim land, had effectively no legal existence. Flamand again pinpoints accurately the character of the relationship - not one of slavery, but rather of helotry or serfdom (19).

Until 1932 and "pacification", Jews in the Ktawa and the Mhamid could be bought and sold by members of one 'Atta lineage or clan to those of another. Documentation of this is as follows: The first instance is dated 1910 when Yidir u-Salah, of the Ait Bu Misa'ud of the Ait 'Alwan, testfied that the two Jews, Brahim bin Ya'qub bin Agilu and his cousin Ya'ish bin Makhluf, had been purchased by him for one-fourth (of what is not stipulated) from Muhammad w-'Ali and his brother Lahsin, sons of 'Ali u-Ya'ish of the Ait l-Hajj Sa'id sublineage of the Ait Bu Tɒratin of the Ignawen. These two Jews, the document notes, have redeemed their helotry and are the protéges of Yidir u-Salah according to the good understanding between them: he has no rights over them and if they should want to leave him, they may do so without argument. The document was drawn up before the Ait 'Aisa notables and two other Jews of Mhamid. Yidir accepts all these stipulations.

In the second document, dated 1920, the sons of Hmad u-l-Husain of the Ait Ghanima (Ait 'Alwan), Mbark and his brother Muhammad, consent to the sale, to Hmad u-Muha of the Ait Bu Dawud, of all their Jews, male and female, descende from Makhluf bin Set Makhluf - the hazzan (rabbi) Shlomo, his children, his brother Bagga and his children, as well as their material possessions: "buildings, houses, animals, sheep, jewellery, everything". The sale is definitive, and is made for 31 riyal-s.

Flamand notes that the first document represents a fictive sale, designed to release the Jews involved from

dependence upon an 'Atta protector. As the protector may not agree to this liberation alone, as suggested by the second document, he and his clients choose an intermediary who receives the infinitesimal sum of 31 riyal-s as an honorarium. One point supports this interpretation, Flamand informs us: the high price attached to them by the Jews of Mhamid. The descendants of Makhluf bin Set Makhluf, considered these documents to be very important, for in the 1940s and 1950s they still had them in their possession (20).

Even though the sale of Jews in the Dra Valley ended in 1932, their legal and jural inferiority obtained until they left. Until 1955 the departures of Jews drew courteous expressions of regret and wishes for future success from their Berber protectors (21). Once Independence came, the whole process was greatly accelerated. By mid-1963 the Jewish communities of Southern Morocco were effectively gone.

4.2 Non-Haratin Blacks and Hrar

This section accommodates all those clients of the Ait 'Atta in the Dra Valley, the Tafilalt and elsewhere who were neither Jewish nor Haratin, namely:

1. Black slaves (isimkhan, sing. ismakh; and fem. tisimkhin, sing. tismakht) or ex-slaves, all of whom originate from the Sudan;
2. Black occupationsl specialists - blacksmiths (imzilen, sing. amzil), who also handle other iron-working, including even dagger-making (22), and wheel-potters (iqaddaren, sing. aqaddar), who are generally held to be southern blacks unable to find employment at home;
3. Other coloured occupational specialists - market weighers (i'abbaren, sing. a'abbar), criers (ibbar-rahen, sing. abarrah), and barbers (ihajjamen, sing. ahajjam), all of extremely low status (23); bards (imdyazen, sing. amdyaz), of slightly higher status; and a curious, dark-skinned, relict people called Imilwan, who are said to have been pre-cursors of the Ait Hadiddu and who, as neutrals and itinerant vendors, also came to act as keepers of Hadiddu Customary Law (24).
4. A fluid category known in the Dra as hrar, "free men", and in the Tafilalt as qbala (sing. qibli), or "southerners".
5. The resident lineages of shurfa and mrabtin.

Of these categories, the only important ones are 1 and 4, for shurfa and mrabtin have already been discussed in

another volume.

Black slaves and ex-slaves, although supposedly freed by 1931-32, still existed in 1947. Jacques-Meunié reported that there were then still some 300 slaves in the Mhamid, and that most were the property of the nomadic 'Arib, whose camels they guarded (25). Jacques-Meunié also makes the telling point that even though slavery no longer had a legal existence in protectorate Morocco, it lingered in the south because it corresponded to an overall and ancient economic, social and political system. Slaves had definite advantages and security in periods of drought or famine, because they had to be fed and clothed by their masters. In the absence of such a system, the poor had to fall back on their own negligible resources (26). Only chiefs and zawiya-s had slaves, almost always considered persons of confidence. Jacques-Meunié notes that they could work as ikhammasen, for one-fifth of the harvest if not fed and kept by their masters (27), which seems to negate a crucial feature of the master-slave-relationship - total dependence. Slave society seems to have been a sub-society in the Ktawa-Mhamid area, with its own chiefs, feasts, saints and dances. There was one slave mqaddim in the Ktawa and three in the Mhamid, while twice a year slaves went into the qsur to get barley and dates for distribution after a musim.

This also generally applied to ex-slaves - hrar -"freedmen" in a technical sense. Most, however, drifted back to their old masters or became assimilated by the Haratin. The Ait 'Atta generally claim that one may take a slave wife, a tismakht who is pure black and that, completely contrary to Shari'a regulations, that a man may indulge in unlimited polygamy provided every fifth wife is black. Nonetheless, one should never marry a tahartant, a Haratin woman, under any circumstances. In fact, the pseudo-regulation permitting unlimited polygyny is purely apocryphal and the reverse is never the case.

All this seems to reinforce the colour bar against the Haratin. The 'Atta ideal is not to live with, eat with, or intermarry with the Haratin.

In the Dra and Tafilalt, the term hrar is a real catchall with local elements, including predominantly the Haratin mixed to form new groups. Spillmann claims, significantly, that by the early years of this century it was difficult if not impossible to distinguish a hurr from a Hartani, as had already been noted by de Segonzac (28).

To the Ait 'Atta, they are all simply Haratin, and any distinction between the latter and hrar only occurs at a higher level. The Ait 'Atta refer to their Arab tribal clients, the Bni Mhammad, the Dawi Mani' and the 'Arib, as hrar, whereas the latter, putting themselves on an equal footing with their patrons, refer to themselves as Brabar, "Berbers" (which of course they are not), and to the others

as hrar. In exactly the same way, the Haratin refer to themselves Ait Dra or Drawa, "people of the Dra", although to all the Ait 'Atta they are still Haratin. Not only do the Ait 'Atta hold them to be inferior, but they themselves are conditioned to feel and accept this.

4.3 The Haratin, or Drawa, As Viewed by the Ait 'Atta

The Bushmanoid-Negroid Haratin are without any question the oldest population in the southern Moroccan oases. They are sedentary qsur-dwellers, agriculturalists and date-harvesters. Indeed their sedentarism is a pivotal factor in their relationship with their Ait 'Atta patrons.

It is impossible to gauge the total Haratin population in 'Attaland with any accuracy; but the Haratin probably outnumber the Ait 'Atta by four or five to one (29).

Most Haratin are bilingual in Arabic and Berber, and all speak Arabic. But the Berber language used is more akin to Tashilhit than to Tamazight, and their Arabic has little in common with the near-Hassaniya spoken by the nomads (30). The reason for this bilingualism was clearly to communicate with protectors from among both Arab nomads as well as Berber transhumants.

It is of considerable interest that the 'Atta have no less than five sets of terms to denote Haratin. Each set of terms also has a different dimension from the others.

1. The colour dimension: ahartan, pl. ihartan, fem. tahartant, pl. tihartanin. There is no question that the ultimate reference is to "black" in the widest, most diffuse sense of the word (31).
2. The low-status dimension: asuqi, pl. isuqiyen (fem. tasuqit, pl. tisuqiyin), "frequenter or habitué, of a market". Moroccans who habitually frequent markets are regarded as being without shame, especially if they have nothing specific to do (32); and a key factor in inferior status is precisely that of shamelessness.
3. The clientage dimension: u-tmurt, pl. ait-tmurt (fem. ut-tmurt pl. ist-tmurt) "client". This was the dimension of what in Arabic was called ra'aya; and it involved quite a different kind of relationship from the variety discussed earlier for the tazttat. It revolved around sacrifice by individuals or groups of Haratin to individuals or groups of 'Atta. Although conceived as permanent, a core feature of the ra'aya system was the option to change or switch patrons should the protection of any one patronage group, 'Atta or otherwise, become too onerous.
4. The labour dimension: akhammas, pl. ikhammasen

(fem. takhammast, pl. tikhammasin), lit. "fifther, ploughman", one who contracts to work another's land annually in return for one-fifth of the harvest.

5. The territorial dimension: u-dra, pl. ait-dra (fem. ut-dra, pl. ist-dra), and in Mor. Ar., drawi, pl. drawa (fem. drawiya, pl. drawiyat), lit. "native of the Dra Valley". In the 'Atta view, at least, and almost certainly in that of the Haratin themselves as well, there is no doubt that territorial considerations play an overriding role in the determination of social structure.

Not all Haratin are true Drawa, by any means. There are many others in the Middle and Lower Dadss Valley, in the valleys of the Tudgha, Ghris and Ziz Rivers as well, and finally in the Tafilalt. When large units or major agglomerations of Haratin are referred to, they are named for the river valleys along which each unit lives: not only Ait Dra but Ait Dadss, Ait Tadghut, Ait Ghris, and Ait Ziz, and finally Ait Tafilalt. Unlike Dimensions 1, 2, 3, above, Dimensions 4 and 5 have no pejorative connotations.

As Haratin are conceived by 'Atta to be little better than chattering apes, their society is equally perceived as being without structure of any sort: such social boundaries as they have, are expressed purely in territorial terms - names of rivers or names of qsur. In southern Morocco, blacks are generally given names which are eschewed by white tribesmen - Mbark, Misa'ud and above all, Blal, in commemoration of the first mu'adhdhin or muezzin of Islam, who happened to be a black.

There is no question of any tribal or clan system here, as all Haratin are quite tribeless, imishkan (sing. imishki). This term imishki is one which to any Berber would be a mortal insult, as it implies that he has lost his tribal rights through "legal death" in connection with property control. Haratin are sometimes quite erroneously held to own only their houses and no land. Traditionally, however, they have never had shfa'a priority rights, perhaps because they have always fallen under the jurisdiction of the Shari'a rather than that of Customary Law. Traditionally too, not only were they never allowed as clients to bear arms, but many 'Atta informants said that it was common practice for a man to try out a new rifle using a Hartani as a target. Furthermore, in Taghbalt, the resident 'Atta stated that as in siba times no Hartani wore a turban - the mark of a man - he could equally never participate in politics or be a chief. In almost all 'Atta communities, bloodwealth payments for shooting down Haratin were minimal or even nil. Haratin are held to be am tiutmin, "like women", and are also held both to eat as much as ten Ait 'Atta and to multiply like rabbits!

There is no doubt that these views, current in the 1960s, were conditioned by 'Atta resentment over the fact that in the post-Independence period the ra'aya relationship, underwritten by the French as an integral part of 'Atta izirf in the south, no longer held good. There was further resentment over the fact that, under the conditions of security imposed by the Protectorate, many of their former clients had become migrant labourers in the cities to the north (notably Casablanca, Rabat, and Marrakesh), and that some were even becoming wealthy.

A corrective to this view is provided by de la Chapelle in an informative article on Nsrat, one of the major qsur in the Ktawa. Nsrat is populated largely by Haratin who until 1956 were in their entirety clients of the Ait Isful. However, de la Chapelle's comments were published in 1929, three years before the Ktawa was officially considered as "pacified". In addition, the article sheds light on the internal organisation of a Haratin qsar, even though it is not clear whether the author actually visited the qsar in question or whether he merely queried informants from it elsewhere (33).

The taqbilt or semi-autonomous "clan" (34) of the Nsarta or Ait Insrat is located some thirty kilometres south of Tamgrut. The qsar itself is the biggest one in the region, consisting in 1928 of 200-250 houses, and inhabited to a very large extent by Haratin with a few hrar, and about 80 tents of Bni Mhammad Arabs camped on its territory. The total population was estimated at the time at 2,500 - which by the 1960 census, had declined to 1,501 persons in 285 nuclear families (35) - and was divided into some seven lineage-groups with a maximum depth of three generations. These lineages were not localised residentially into distinct quarters but were spread through the qsar. One of them was appropriately named Ihartanen; and of the others, only two, the Ait 'Aisa and the Ait Bwa Bu Karrum, indicate by their names that they may each have had single common ancestors. The rest (Uqlilen, Ihartanen, Ait Zawit, Ait Tshukt and Ait Buluk) are groups which, quite obviously, place a far higher premium on the factor of territoriality than on descent. Hence the Ait Insrat are who they are, very largely Haratin and agriculturalists, by virtue of the facts of cohabitation and of contiguity. In what Azam refers to as the "territorial crucible" of the Dra Valley, qsar and qbila had become coterminous (36).

Each group inhabiting the qsar had representatives in the two governing assemblies, an upper-level council (Mor. Ar. jma'a l-kbira, Berber l-jma't tamqqrant), with twelve to fifteen members presided over by two of them (Mor. Ar. shaikh l-kbir, Berber amghar amqqran) and a lower-level one, the "assembly of the people" (Mor. Ar. jma'a l-'amma, Berber l-jma't tamzzyant), with twenty members presided over by the shaikh l-'amma (or amghar n-l-'ammt). This

duality was quite exceptional, and evidently a function of the very large size of Nsrat; Bni Sbih, the next biggest qsar in the area, had only the normal single council and shaikh

One major difference between Dra Valley Haratin and the Ait 'Atta political systems was that the amghar of a "clan" housed within a qsar of the former was appointed for life or good behaviour. There were no annual chief elections based on rotation and complementarity, although in the Tafilalt non-'Atta resident ethnic groups (including Haratin) followed the 'Atta example on this score (37). In fact, this may be because Haratin tend to speak Tashilhit, whereas the annual election system was typical of the Tamazight region. Even so, rotation and complementarity type elections were starting among the Haratin of the Ktawa by the mid-1940s (38), short-lived though they were to be.

The two Ait Insrat assemblies only met over qsar internal affairs while disputes between the Haratin and their Ait Isful protectors were adjudicated by a special amghar n-l-'ar, appointed by the Ait Isful clan chief. He will be discussed in the next section, but the post did not suvive the Protectorate (39). The clan chief probably assumed his role directly.

The Ait Insrat had a written customary law qanun (40), and not only was the upper assembly responsible for administering it but the document itself was kept by one of two 'adul who were the qadi's main agents (41). The arrangement was neat enough: the legal establishment had the custodianship of the fundamental document on custom while it also had exclusive jurisdiction over all matters relating to land and water, marriage and divorce.

The Ait Insrat also had a "House of the Tribe" - da l-qbila (Berber tigemmi n-l-jma't), its lower floor acted as the community storehouse for dates and barley and its upper one was the community guesthouse. A mqaddim, a member of the upper-level assembly who was in charge of this and other public buildings, kept the keys and established a rotation system among qsar-dwellers for guests. The mosque amin was in charge of the community's two mosques, Qur'anic school and three local shrines, while the walls, ramparts and irrigation ditches were kept up by corvées furnished by the upper-level assembly. A watchman guarded the only keys of the qsar insuring that it was closed at nightfall and opened at daybreak. Any stranger had to deposit their arms with him, a ruling which was vigorously enforced by the Ait Isful, the protectors and patrons not only of Nsrat but of most of the Haratin and others of the Ktawa.

4.4 Ra'aya Relationships–Patronage and Clientage

Even though the relationship between the Ait 'Atta and the Haratin in the Dra Valley was characterised by amicability there is also no doubt that in another sense it was also characterised by inequality. In a third sense it was, furthermore, very much a business relationship.

Jacques-Meunié cites a tradition claiming that the ra'aya protection relationship only started after the Ait 'Atta arrived in the Ktawa and the Mhamid. This was patently not the case for documentary evidence shows that the earliest pact extant for the region at large, found in Tazarin, is dated 1494-95 AD (900 AH). It concerns a donation (rather than actual protection) made by the Ruha Arabs to the Ait Sidi Msa'd, the oldest mrabtin lineage in the locality. The Ruha dominated Tazarin until the arrival of the Ait 'Atta; but, cursed by Sidi Msa'd, they had to retire to the Fazwata and Tarnata regions where they are still located today, in much reduced numbers. The oldest treaty of protection yet found in the Ktawa is the act of the Igharm n-Ait Yusif, dated 1552-53 AD (960 AH), although it does not, evidently, specify the Ait 'Atta as being the ra'yan (sing. ra'i) or protectors (42) as it is too early. Niclausse dates the first specifically Ait 'Atta act in the Ktawa at 1630 AD, when the khams khmas, the "five fifths", of the Ait 'Atta turned over the guardianship of the qsar of the Ulad Yusif (or Ait Yusif) to the rassama or irssamen who had undertaken its protection (43). The next act dates from 1770, and concerns Ait 'Atta allegiance to the Qsar 'Arib.

Two more acts in 1797 and 1801 exist for the Ulad Yusif. The first is a repudiation of Ait Bu Iknifen protection and the second a donation of half the property of the qsar, camouflaged as a sale. Then in 1813, the qsur of l-Ughlad and Bni Simgin settled a qta litigation with forty co-jurors. The earliest agreement in the Mhamid area is in 1844, between the sedentaries of Ulad Mhaya and the Ait Hassu. Its main stipulations are the prohibition of land sales to strangers, and that the sedentary ait tmurt, as opposed to the Ait 'Atta, were to remain under Shari'a jurisdiction. Such land sale prohibitions only developed at the Ulad Yusif qsar in 1865. At Nsrat in 1892, the Ait Isful were allowed to evict the Bni Mhammad from the qta, the common land of the qsar.

The content of the ra'aya relationship itself shows considerable variation between the way it was manifested in the Ktawa-Mhamid area and the Ait 'Atta recollection of it. It also depends on whether the 'Atta patrons or their Haratin clients' point of view is under discussion. 'Atta everywhere, confusing protection with economics, say they protected the Haratin against depredations from other tribes; and thus the Haratin worked for them as agri-

cultural labourers and date-harvesters, also receiving, in return, one-fifth of the total harvest. The dimension mentioned earlier, of the Haratin as ikhammasen (black workers), is the prevailing one (44). Other dimensions for the Ait 'Atta included the idea that they as irahhalen (transhumant tribesmen) had to protect the sedentary non-tribal ait tmurt, and that this was the basis of their relationship.

Basically this means a general policing by the qta protectors of their protegés thorugh the medium of ra'yan (sing. ra'i) (45). In Arabic the root ra'i means both "to pasture" and "to guard, to protect". The second meaning is the more relevant here, but perhaps the Ait 'Atta originally as pastoralists may have assimilated the name of "shepherd" to the new function which they had now acquired at the request of the Haratin. Over time the term ra'yan came to be used for the guardians of the date-palm groves rather then for shepherds. Here the noun ra'iya, "herd, flock" (and its cognate ri'aya, "keeping, custody, charge") is exclusively used. The term ra'aya, especially in the Dra, also refers to the annual payment in kind to the guardians until 1956.

The patronage-clientage relationship embodied by the ra'aya in the Dra and initiated through sacrifice by protegé to protector was institutionalised to a much more marked degree than in the Tafilalt. There are several reasons for this. In the Dra, unlike the Tafilalt, the Ait 'Atta had a near monopoly on protection, with the 'Arib of Mhamid as their only possible (and negligible) competition. In the Tafilalt, however, only some qsur had fallen under 'Atta control by the 19th century while others came under that of their enemies the Ait Murghad and the Ait Izdig. The latter were also present in another territory which was otherwise also an 'Atta monopoly, the Rtab.

Secondly the Tafilalt is a very densely populated oasis, where qsar-dwellers were more capable of defending themselves (46) than they were in the Dra and the Rtab, where the qsur are strung out along the river in a narrow line and where, significantly, the Ait 'Atta had virtually exclusive control.

Thirdly, there was a basic difference in the ethnic composition of the two areas. Hrar and Haratin in the Dra tend to be indistinguishable from each other. In the Tafilalt, however, the hrar are sedentary white Arab farmers with lineages four to five generations deep, unlike the Haratin who live in their midst (47).

From a historical point of view, by the time of the French conquest, most of the Ktawa had been taken over by the Ait Isful, although the Ait Wahlim still held its south-western sector and the Ait 'Alwan held Tiraf. Most of the Mhamid was also in Ait 'Alwan hands, with an enclave of the 'Arib in the western part of the oasis.

However, tradition has it that when the Ait 'Atta were "invited" into the Dra Valley by the resident Haratin, their clans drew lots for the guardianship of the Ktawa. The successful Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim (Ait Wahlim) moved into the Fazwata around Zagura, the Ktawa and the Mhamid. Later, the Arab Ulad Sultan drove them out, so the Ait 'Atta returned in force to drive the Ulad Sultan out in turn, reestablishing themselves in the Ktawa and installing the Ait Isful in the Fazwata.

From then on, the Ktawa became the zealous, jealous and exclusive prerogative and responsibility of the Ait 'Atta. Within the 'Atta, the Ait Isful, together with the Ait 'Alwan, and the Ait Wahlim soon became violent rivals for the Ktawa spoils. Finally, in the last years before the French arrived, the Ait Khabbash, coming from the east, and the 'Arib nomads from the south moved in too. However, this was not a simple struggle between liff-s, for among the Ait 'Atta liff-s were never strongly marked and were entirely superseded by ties of affinity or interest. Alliances were almost always temporary and ad hoc and were made or unmade rapidly according to need.

A key feature of the ra'aya was that although the Haratin always knew they had to pay protection fees to the Ait 'Atta, they had one frequently used loophole. This they made use of by profiting from inter-'Atta dissensions through the sacrifice of an unblemished ram to a different 'Atta clan (48). Certain 'Atta sectors, as their Haratin were well-to-do, merited several acts of sacrifice so that the protection of one 'Atta clan would be so good that there would be no attempt to change patrons. Some Haratin groups even retained a certain leverage over the local 'Atta. In general, the relationships between groups were characterised by an unstable power equilibrium with friendship and hostility either alternating or remaining permanent at the inter-'Atta or the inter 'Atta-Haratin (Berber-sedentary) level, and in the internal rivalry among the Haratin, where a local group would call in an outside 'Atta unit to support it.

Rivalries amongst Ait 'Atta groups are typified by the following example. Although the Ktawa-Mhamid area was a uniquely Ait Wahlim "fief" in the beginning, it was soon encroached upon by the Ait Y'azza, the Ait Isful and the Ait 'Alwan. The Ait Isful were able to become the most powerful clan before the French came. By 1916 the Ait Y'azza had disappeared as had a number of Ait Wahlim subclans. Within this general framework each clan had periods of strength and weakness which brought it substantial profits or losses. Losses principally related to a loss of warrior potential when a clan had to send major reinforcements to clan-mates or friends in trouble elsewhere.

The most interesting aspect here is that of agreements and conflicts between 'Atta and Haratin; for there were

many "good" ra'yan with whom an acceptable modus vivendi was established. Such good relations necessitated a certain loyalty on the part of the Haratin, but when they tried to free themselves from the onus of protection, they had to suffer the ire of their patrons, as the following examples show:-

1 About 1896, the Haratin of the Ulad Mhaya, weary of the exactions of the Ait 'Alwan, sacrificed to the Ilimshan who then moved into their qsar to insure its protection. The Ait 'Alwan returned in force, forced out the Ilimshan, and took over one-third of all the Ulad Mhaya property as an indemnity for the betrayal.

2 About 1880, the Hartani amghar of Blida, a qsar whose protection was assured jointly by the Ait Isful and the Ignawen, was in conflict with one of his constituent lineages, the Ulad 'Allal, and wanted them out of the qsar. He called in Haratin from Bni Hayyun and Nsrat who chased out the Ulad 'Allal. The latter now sacrificed to the 'Atta clan of the Ignawen (Ait Wahlim) who wanted 500 duros hasani for their assistance. The Ait Isful now benevolently proposed their own aid gratis if, once reinstalled, the Ulad 'Allal would make them sole protectors. Once this was agreed, the Ait Isful forced their protegés in Nsrat and Bni Hayyun to abandon the Blida amghar and retire while the Ulad 'Allal returned.

However, the Haratin soon became tired of Ait Isful demands, and took over the qsar. They all lived there for a month at the expense of its inhabitants, and then, those who had fled had all their property confiscated, while those who had stayed, lost only a third. The Haratin from Nsrat and Bni Hayyun sold their share to the Ait Isful in 1894 - a betrayal which was to prove costly.

3 When too hard pressed, Haratin sometimes preferred to pay in order to free themselves from protection which had become too onerous. For example, in about 1915, during a very violent conflict in the Ktawa, the qsar of Khaswan was under the joint protection of the Ignawen and the Ait 'Ali u-Hassu. Its inhabitants had to contribute food to the combatants in the watch-tower at Nsrat. One day, because their meals were late, the Ignawen imposed a fine of 50 pieces of cloth. This was the straw that broke the camel's back and Khaswan bought its freedom for 100 duros hasani and retained only the Ait 'Ali u-Hassu as its protectors. In another case in 1917, the Haratin of Qsar l-Kbir had to pay 12,000 duros hasani for their freedom from the Ait Y'azza after a shooting incident.

4 Ait 'Atta clans did not fail to unite whenever they could in order to increase the protection money paid them by the Haratin. The rather contentious Haratin qsar Ulad Dris, for example, although under the protection of the Ait Hassu, also sacrificed to the Ait 'Alwan who agreed with their predecessors to divide up the tribute. The

discontented Ulad Dris shut themselves up in their qsar where they were besieged by the two 'Atta clans who began to chop down date palms until the Haratin came to terms five months later. Three-fifths of the property went to the Berbers and two-fifths was retained by the Haratin at a cost of 18,000 duros (5 million francs equivalent in 1954). Yet, during the five months the 'Atta continued to handle the ra'aya jointly within the terms of their original contract, for as usually happened in the Dra, the ra'yan took their obligations very much to heart.

5 Strong-arm and 'squeeze-play' tactics were not lacking. About 1928 the protection of the qsar of Bni Simgin was assumed jointly by the Ait Isful and the Ait 'Ali u-Hassu. As the French were beginning to encroach on the area and while most of the Ait Isful went north to fight, the few ra'yan remaining wanted to take over the qsar and were rejected. The Bni Simgin sacrificed to all the Ait Ali u-Hassu and offered them one-fourth of their property. On its return the ajmu' or council of the Ait Isful read a lecture to the bluffers, protested to the Bni Simgin about the friendship of their clan and entered into conflict with the Ait 'Ali u-Hassu for the restitution of their protegés of the one-fourth levied. Now the Ait Khabbash and the Tafilalt insurrectionist Bil-Qasim Ngadi entered the arena and obtained this restitution from the Ait 'Ali u-Hassu through the levying of 9,000 duros hasani. Who paid it? The Haratin, of course. Who exacted it? the Ait Isful, the Ait 'Ali u-Hassu and Bil-Qasim Ngadi, in equal shares - and, although Niclausse does not say so specifically, it may be taken as read that a good part of Bil-Qasim's share of 3,000 duros went to the Ait Khabbash.

As a counterweight to spoliations of this kind, Niclausse found only one case in which the Ait 'Atta, no doubt thinking of the future made any kind of pecuniary effort. About 1914 the Ait Isful bought from the Haratin of Nsrat the right of ra'aya for 40 duros hasani.

4.5 The Price of Protection

Implicit in these arrangements was a concept of value - the price that should properly be paid for protection - and it is this to which we now turn.

When there was no fighting and the sedentaries sacrificed to an 'Atta or other Berber clan group, the documents drawn up dealt only with the payment of the ra'aya at harvest time - the June to August period for grains and the December to February period for dates. If the sacrifice preceded an act of force and if the occupancy was the result of this, protection was almost always accompanied by donations, either in land or in its monetary equivalent. These donations were usually made to a clan, and

consisted most often of the equivalent of one-quarter of the immovable property owned by the inhabitants of the qsar in question. Yet such Ait 'Atta acquisitions would clearly have been very much larger than the land they actually owned in the area as of 1947-1953, when Niclausse was the A.I. Officer at Tagunit. Evidently a large part of this divided land was rapidly disposed of in collective or individual sales. Significantly, however, it was generally only the lineage-groups of individuals involved in the act in question who benefited from these donations, those who had had to remain to insure their rassama engagements not the whole clan or subclan. The rassama or irssamen acted as respondents of the 'Atta clan, both guarding their clients and sharing the booty. The Ait Hassu had fifty irssamen tents for the Haratin of Ulad Dris, while in the Mhamid the number was 100.

The donation was the price paid by sedentaries for the protection of a transhumant 'Atta clan. If the clan was ever incapable of fulfilling its obligations, the agreement became null and void. Yet, who could have hindered the 'Atta from immediately dividing up the land and selling their shares? It is difficult to see how the Haratin could recuperate their property.

Nonetheless, one of the most striking features of transhumant-sedentary relations was the respect given to the written word at a time when force counted for everything and treaties were mere scraps of paper. The most ephemeral and ad hoc alliances were drawn up by 'adul - the Ait Hassu and the Ait Bu Iknifen occupation of the shurfa of Knazda in 1874 lasted only two weeks, but the act drawn up was very long. All acts that could be preserved were saved, even though by the 1950s they had lost the major part of their interest (49). Some acts show considerable originality but most merely refer to earlier qanun-s known to all concerned.

The documents all begin by praising God, and mentioning the names of the 'adul or their representatives. The parties concerned then affirm their unalterable solidarity "day and night until God inherits the world and all in it, He being the best of Heirs". This is the affirmation of khawa, of "brotherhood" (Tamazight taiymat or taimat), a euphemism found even in Saudi Arabia. After this comes the serious business.

This includes the amount of the ra'aya, which was almost identical everywhere for a fixed period, although with small gratuitous tariffs for mrabtin and shurfa. Some Haratin, furthermore, were powerful enough to have tiqqura plots reserved for them which were then sold annually to strangers or to 'Atta protectors in order to contribute to clan expenses. Another factor was the limitation of the number of ra'yan for if they were not conscientious, they could become as devastating as the proverbial locusts of

Ibn Khaldun. Each had the right to free pasturage and generally took it even if he did not have this right. Hence some qsur communities imposed an upper limit.

In any qanun, the clause concerned with general policing was usually the major one. When the Ait 'Atta dealt with local shurfa, they usually accepted litigation under the Shari'a. However, when Haratin were involved, they were either integrated into 'Atta Custom or submitted to habitual Berber sanctions such as collective oath (50). Thus each infraction of an established rule was always fined (51).

The best examples of these policing measures, are those between Nsrat and the Ait Isful in 1891, Khaswan and the Ait Isful in 1929, and Ulad Dris and, jointly, the Ait Hassu and the Ait 'Alwan in 1910 (52). Entering a garden without permission was fined 2 mitqal-s; entering a house without permission, 10 mitqal-s; while theft in a garden was graver if committed at night (10 mitqal-s) than during the day (5 mitqal-s), although in a house it was fined 5 mitqal-s per door or threshold crossed at Nsrat, and 100 mitqal-s at Khaswan. Impudence to the jma'a was fined 2 mitqal-s, and the same for a dispute, a blow, a slap or drawing a knife, while insults, at 5 mitqal-s, were somewhat more expensive. Overturning the packsaddle of a donkey was as grave an offence as was talking in the mosque, as committing a pasturage misdemeanour or as pulling the trigger of one's unloaded gun while pointing it at someone. At the top of the list was the diyit, assessed at 100 mitqal-s at Tiraf n-Ait 'Alwan and 200 at Nsrat; and the "supreme crime" of sacrificing to another clan in order to switch patrons, was likewise assessed at 100 mitqal-s.

A further concern of the qsur-dwellers was to keep strangers from moving in. This too was reflected in the acts: qsur of Ulad Yusif (100 mitaql-s), Bni Simgin (10 mitqal-s), and Adwafil (10 mitqal-s). 'Atta and Haratin evidently even recognised a right of preemption among themselves to keep strangers from buying up important parts of the qta. This stands in glaring contrast to the modern situation described for the Ktawa by Hammoudi, where the old qsar organisation had, as of 1969, clearly broken up, with new dwellings constantly being erected extra muros and with the old social order patently finished (53).

However, even in French times, all persons and property had to be protected. The Haratin could scarcely leave their own palm groves without an w-'Atta escort. This was particularly true in the case of the Ait Isful, and here a crucial observation was made by de la Chapelle in 1929 at the qsar of Nsrat (54). He observed that although the ritual of the free choice of patron was made by the Haratin upper assembly at the door of the qsar or entrance to the camp of the group whose protection was desired, in the case

of the Ait Isful the sacrifice of a ram to any one of their lineages automatically engendered the responsibility of the whole clan. This is precisely why Spillmann speaks of the Ait Isful as the "youngest and most vigorous" 'Atta clan in the Dra Valley, and probably also the reason for their complete faithfulness to their given word (55).

This did not apply to the Ait Wahlim in the region, as many of their lineages had been there since the early nineteenth century and fission had become advanced. Thus each Ait Wahlim subclan, by de la Chapelle's time, had its own particular Haratin clients. There were even cases of individual protection among the Ait Wahlim, almost to the extent that each Hartani had his own u-Wahlim patron! Certain qsur in the Fazwata were, in their entirety, the clients of an Ait Wahlim notable named Muhammad u-l-Husain.

The documents provided for protection in all places, so sedentary Haratin travelling from one qsar to another had to be accompanied by an 'Atta ra'i. Just as the ra'yan were responsible for any damage to the harvests, they were also responsible for any Hartani who had requested an escort. Equally, no Hartani was permitted either to pursue an aggressor or to come to the aid of his guardian in a fight.

Usually only the kitchen gardens surrounding the qsar were not subject to the ra'aya. This was generally stipulated in the agreements, as was the reservation of the 'ashur harvest tithe for expenditures on the Haratin. The Ait 'Atta also sometimes required land for a qsar to house the garrison defending the area. This land, as noted in the qanun-s, was given free and construction was undertaken by the donors. The convention between the qsar of Nsrat and the Ait Isful insists that "even if the Ait Isful leave on a harka, they must leave four good men with the shaikh of the Drawa clan", for the Ktawa-Mhamid region lived in a state of war punctuated by short periods of respite. The Ait 'Atta were used to this, the Haratin much less so; hence they sometimes attempted to contact the two hostile parties to obtain a temporary and localised truce which would permit them to go about their own economic affairs. The meeting site (Ar. hurm, Tm. tafrawt) (56) was bordered by an akarkur, a cairn of boundary stones, and was forbidden to all combatants.

Other stipulations in the qanun-s included dates for the date harvest once the jma'a had given the signal and the protection of Jews. In one act of the qsar of Ulad Mhaya in the Mhamid, dated 1856, there is a rare stipulation of common ownership of qta property between the resident Haratin and their protectors, the Ait Ghanima of the Ait 'Alwan.

4.6 The Ra'aya and its Structural Function

In siba times the ra'aya was a protection with a moral sanction, for everyone knew that to attack a protected individual was to offend the protector and his clan, and to attract reprisal and hostility. To sacrifice to a clan, as the Haratin did to the Ait Isful, was, economically, to sacrifice a part of the harvest so as to retain the rest, particularly as the portion sacrificed was by no means exorbitant. The ra'yan installed themselves regularly in the oasis - generally in order to survey the harvest share which was to revert to them rather than to watch over the security of the whole. Nonetheless repayment for damages was regularly applied through appropriations by the ra'yan, who in addition furnished warriors to occupy watchtowers (aggudim) located at sensitive points (57).

Normatively, however, the protecting clan had the primary obligation of installing its ra'yan at the beginning of January and in August. There were normally two ra'yan, one for the winter and one for the summer. The winter ra'i received his share of the date harvest collected between September and December. He had to be present at the initial September gathering, but after the final collection, he left because pasturage within the oasis precincts was forbidden.

His Hartani client would then work for his successor, the summer ra'i who had to watch over the nwadar (sing. nadar), the piles of pre-threshed grain. He had thus to wait until the threshing was over in July or August, to receive his "salary". Winter ra'yan, on the other hand, generally wanted rapid installation and replacement.

The ideal solution was a permanent guardian for the whole year. Among the Ait Isful, who were the patrons of three-quarters of the Ktawa, some individuals were effectively professional ra'yan and became sedentarised in this new way of life under the Protectorate. By the early 1950s some of these men had been in the same place for over twenty years and the relations which linked them to their protegés became one of old acquaintanceship.

It was, of course, obligatory for the 'Atta patrons to furnish ra'yan for all their clients and those designated to guard unfavourable sectors received suitable compensation in kind from their constituents attached to wealthier areas. Harvest surveillance was the principal task of the ra'yan. They had to defend the area against theft, fire and animals by their continued and nonstop presence. They were held responsible for any depredations whatsoever, for "if anyone has had anything stolen from him, the ra'i will repay him". If the ra'i could not prevent fires, frequent in summer, he had to take all precautions to put them out quickly, for the responsibility was entirely his (58).

Finally, the ra'yan had to be ready to identify the

Hartani fillah (Ar. "farmer, agriculturalist, peasant) who was about to start harvesting his dates. Yet since the ra'i was not usually on permanent engagement he could not be expected to know all the owners of all the palm trees, which were often held in indivision in any case. Indeed the ra'i at harvest time was often not the same man who had been present when fecundation occurred. Nonetheless, his testimony was the first asked for in any dispute.

Pasturage was authorised only in areas where there was no cultivation. The jma'a of the Haratin established the time and the areas of free pasturage, and the ra'yan were responsible for carrying this out. Prior to the Protectorate they had to tell the jma'a, and thereafter the "bureau", the size and owner of any flock which infringed the rules. They then had to corral the animals and evaluate the damage. At times when pasturage was authorised, they had to ensure that flocks belonging to strangers to the qta did not wander in. Finally, any Hartani seeing an infraction alerted the ra'i at once.

The ra'yan also prevented the installation of any tents other than their own in the oasis, because in addition to his "salary", the ra'i had two principal advantages. He could set up his tent in the oasis, since he always had to be there, and he had free pasturage within the limits defined by the jma'a. Any contractual association with animals at pasture between the Ait Isful and the Haratin involved one-fourth return for the shepherd and three-fourths for the owner of the flock.

The salary of the ra'yan came from various sources. Some cereals, particularly when poor irrigation conditions reduced the yield, were always cut to feed the flocks where necessary. The owner of the flock then gave the ra'i an armful corresponding to his share, as was done for grain which ripened prematurely and was threshed in the houses without being taken to the threshing floors. The main harvest was harvested at one time and was collected into nwadar piles, one for each owner, on the threshing floors. The modes of ra'yan payment might differ - the Shurfa of Zrahna, for example, paid their ra'yan at harvest time and then took over the guardianship of their nwadar themselves. Almost everywhere else the ra'yan took on the guardianship of the nwadar. At the harvest itself, therefore, they were only given an indeterminate amount, k-khair ("the good"), to retain their interest, and the ra'aya proper was paid after threshing had been completed.

Unripe dates were normally collected one by one and, as such, were subject to a tax which, given the small quantities involved, far surpassed the percentage stipulated. An owner who had collected, say, sixty dates would never have had the nerve to give only two to the ra'i, rather than the fistful expected. In the general date harvest the process was simpler: four measures were set aside for the

owner and one for the akhammas (always a Hartani). This procedure was repeated six times and then the thiry-first measure was given to the ra'i.

This example underlines the crucially important fact that the donation of one-fifth of the harvest to the Haratin was made, as Duclos has pointed out (59), to them in their role of ikhammasen, and not in their role as clients or protegés of the Ait 'Atta. These two roles are two quite distinct concepts. The institution of takhammast is the result of a socio-economic fact, not of a political one, while that of protection was the result of a socio-political fact. Its counterpart, in the Dra at least, was the territorial cession of one-fourth of the land and its corresponding irrigation water, a tax of one-tenth of the produce of the remaining land, and other privileges, such as the right of ra'aya guardianship which was rewarded with one-twentieth of the produce of the property under guard (60).

One of the principal points in the agreements between transhumants and sedentaries was the amount of the ra'aya. It could vary according to the nature of relations between them. Mrabtin and shurfa often benefited from more advantageous conditions. This aside, almost all the Ktawa and the Eastern Mhamid followed the pattern established between the Ait Isful and Nsrat - 1/31 on cereals; 1/24 on lucerne, vegetables and dates; and 1/18 on maize. However, the Western Mhamid, where the 'Arib held the ra'aya, imposed a higher tariff - 1/24 on grains and 1/12 on dates and vegetables. After the suppression of the ra'aya by the French in 1936 and its subsequent reinstallation at Haratin request, the tariff was brought up to 1/21 on dates and then reduced to 1/31, the universal figure by this time for both dates and grains. In the Ktawa only the Shurfa of Knazda and the Mrabtin of Sidi Salah obtained lower rates of respectively, 1/36 and 1/41, while in the Mhamid the rates were different yet again - 1/36 in the west and 1/49 in the east.

However, in reality the rates were much higher than these figures because of l-khair. The basic rates were only minimal ones and reflect what was given to bad ra'yan who, although not sanctioned, only rendered a mediocre service. Even so, they earned above this minimum because of unripe date collections. Effective and permanent guardians, whose vigilance was never relaxed, earned a khair, after the division which was far higher than the official salary. It was a question of affinity between protector and protegé, between patron and client. The size of gifts made by the owner at harvest, threshing or collection of dates or barley, from the armful down to the fistful depended solely on him because he was offering what he wanted to offer. This could be as much as one-fifth of the harvest but was the payment judged equitable for the service rendered.

Ra'yan could incur sanctions on the assumption that property owners had to be reimbursed for damages. For minor matters, payment was almost always settled out of court. In other cases this was not so. In summer 1951 a wealthy property owner who had several nwadar burned started a court case against his ra'yan. The ra'yan were considered responsible for this because of their negligence, by this time a general complaint, since many saw the ra'aya as tribute. To restore the original concept, the ra'yan involved were made to pay very considerable damages, something which had never before happened, and the clan which had appointed them was declared collectively responsible.

The penalty which hurt the ra'yan most was without doubt that of exclusion. The sedentaries' agreement for the designation of ra'yan was never explicitly mentioned, but they always had a veto. At Tiraf n-Ait 'Alwan, for example: "Any ra'i who is not acceptable must be prepared to evacuate the area at any time, even at harvest". In the Mhamid, where contestations concerning the ra'aya, unlike the Ktawa, were frequent and violent, this ruling had to be enforced. The number of ra'yan was strictly limited and the sedentaries could oppose the candidates put forward provided that they gave valid reasons for doing so. Among the Ait Isful of the Ktawa, it was the clan itself, acting corporately, which excluded anyone unsuitable.

The ra'yan were designated in January and in August by all the lineages involved. As dates are by far the major source of revenue of the region, interest in the position was greater in late summer or autumn than in winter and before the meeting, everyone concerned had already marked out the good spots. The subsequent division of tiggura and the corresponding allotment of ra'yan which ensued has already been recounted at length in Dadda 'Atta and His Forty Grandsons (pp.110-119).

4.7 Tribal Arab Clients: the Bni Mhammad, the 'Arib and Others

The Ait 'Atta had at least two well-defined Arab tribal client groups, the Bni Mhammad in the Tafilalt and the Dra, and the 'Arib south of the Dra bend. In southeastern 'Attaland, the Dawi Mani' and even the Ulad Jrir had relations of clientship with the Ait Khabbash. There is little information of substance about these but they seem to have revolved around the protection of caravans (61). Domenech Lafuente insists that at least until 1930, even the Eastern Rgaybat (Rgaybat l-Gwasim) paid a fixed annual ghafr (Ar., "pardon") toll of fifteen dromedaries to the Ait Khabbash, particularly if they wanted access to the Dra and Tafilalt markets (62). However, the core Arab tribal

client groups of the 'Atta were the sedentarised Bni Mhammad and the 'Arib camel pastoralists, both of Ma'qil origin, although the 'Arib also claim descent from the Banu Hassan of Mauritania (63).

However, although the social structure of the Bni Mhammad in the Tafilalt resembles that of the Haratin of the Dra quite closely, the traditional socio-political institutions of the 'Arib around Mhamid are often surprising. They exhibit institutional borrowings from the Ait 'Atta or other Berber groups: the designation of their tribal council as ait arba'in (or, more probably aitarbi'in) derived from the Sus and standard usage all over the Western Sahara; annual election of chiefs by rotation and almost certainly also by complementarity; and collective oaths and the institution of ait 'ashra. In reality, though, this is hardly surprising, for the 'Arib and the Bni Mhammad refer to themselves not as 'arab, but as brabar, a fact which neatly reflects their former clientship and dependence upon the Ait 'Atta. Nonetheless, the nature of this client-ship is not always clear, as Niclausse points out (64).

He notes that some groups in the Ktawa, through loud recriminations, were able to set up special ra'aya situations for themselves in Protectorate times, even if they had not done so before the French came. In the few qsur where the Bni Mhammad were patrons, they took care of their ra'aya themselves, claiming to have been allies of the Ait 'Atta, even in siba times. The Ait 'Atta were habituated to the fact itself but not to its justification and considered the Bni Mhammad to be a servile tribe, which appears to have been closer to reality. Nonetheless, the ra'aya of the qsur of Qsar Jdid, Bni Hnit and Talha Bni Mhammad had been under the ra'aya of the 'Arib, but had freed themselves in 1940. At Ait Rba', a qsar where Haratin and Bni Mhammad are mixed, the ra'aya was organised by the Ait Bu Dawud.

The 'Arib (estimated at 422 tents by Spillmann in 1936) (65) are located around the qsar of Qsir 'Arib in the Ktawa and in the western Mhamid. They are camel nomads on a fairly wide scale, surpassing the Ait Khabbash - who became, as it happens, their protectors - by a large margin. The 'Arib, good cameleers and desert guides but no fighters (66), shifted with the slightest breezes of change in the attitudes and alignments of the various 'Atta clans and of the other tribes of the region, especially during the immediate pre-Protectorate period. Rival segments of their two clans, particularly the Nwaji and Gwasim segments of the N a'amna clan (67) had, by the late 1920s put out "feelers" in virtually all directions. The Nwaji, the most importnt single segment, made a significant move when they refused to help their fellow tribesmen against the Ait 'Alwan. Then, in 1928, sixty of their tents sacrificed to the Ait 'Amr subclan of the Ait Khabbash. They then

together attacked the qsar of Ulad Mhaya, chasing out the Ait Ghanima of the Ait 'Alwan and dividing their houses in half (68). In November 1932, the Ait Khabbash fled the Mhamid at the approach of the French (69).

4.8 'Atta-Haratin Relations since Independence

After 1931 and pacification, the French promised the Ait Unir of the Tarnata, the Ait Isful, the Ait Wahlim and the Ait 'Alwan of the Ktawa-Mhamid areas that their pre-Protectorate status of patronage over the local Haratin would continue unimpaired (70). As Niclausse points out (71), they realised that the ra'aya - the institutionalisation of protection in the Dra - formed part and parcel of Customary Law. As such, it was rescinded when Independence came in 1956. The patronage-clientage relationship between Ait 'Atta and Haratin came ipso facto to an end, to the bitter resentment of the former.

In any case, many Haratin had begun, during the Protectorate, to become independent of the ra'aya relationship with the 'Atta through urban labour migration and wage-earning in the northern cities. There are also other contributing factors to the 'Atta resentment, including increasing sedentarisation and many of them are graphically illustrated by a most unforgettable experience from the author's own fieldwork and described briefly in Dadda 'Atta and His Forty Grandsons (p.215). It took place at Taghbalt on February 10, 1962, and the two principal actors were the youngish Hartani shaikh of Taghbalt, from the clan and qsar of the Ait Tlaglu, and an older w-'Atta mqaddim, resident in the igharm of Taghinbut belonging to the local chapter of the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim subclan of the Ait Wahlim.

The situation in Taghbalt had been essentially a non-ra'aya one, or at least one in which the ra'aya had never attained the equilibrium which it reached in the Ktawa. In Taghblat the 'Atta, the more numerous group in the area (in 1960, 395 nuclear families and 2,858 population as opposed to 266 families and 1,670 population for the two Haratin qsur (72), showed nothing but naked hatred for the Haratin, who in turn had long since lost whatever respect they might have had for their former patrons.

I had come to Taghbalt that same morning with my wife, my Tamazight-speaking field assistant and an Ait Hadiddu mkhazni from the "bureau" at Tazarin who was armed with a rifle to lend authority to the proceedings. In the qta ground of one of the igharman of Taghbalt, I set to work at the table and chair which had thoughtfully been provided. There were probably forty men present, the Ait 'Atta all on one side of the table and the Haratin all on the other.

The interview began innocuously enough, on clan and lineage structure and elections of clan chiefs. There was a community amghar of the Ait 'Atta n-Taghbalt in siba times: he was not chosen by rotation and complementarity. Because he was a powerful man, everyone followed him every year, and he was changed only when another more powerful chief emerged. Each localised taqbilt elected its own amghar n-tqbilt by rotation and complementarity from among its constituent lineages. The elected chief then appointed his idab n-imuren and hence the amghar n-tqbilt, the clan chief, was thus himself ratified as the bab n-umur of the amghar of the Ait 'Atta n-Taghbalt.

Now, however, the Hartani spokesman intervened to say that the Haratin of Ait Tlaglu also had an amghar, annually elected by rotation and complementarity, with grass put in his turban by the presiding agurram, and that he then appointed idbab n-imuren for each of the six Ait Tlaglu lineages. After this he was given milk and dates. Exactly the same election procedure occurred for the amghar of the other large Taghbalt Haratin qsar at Ait Mnad, with one amghar and six idbab n-imuren for its constituent lineages.

Very shortly after the Hartani shaikh intervened, mutterings of "No! No!" began among the Ait 'Atta on my left. They obviously were not going to admit or allow the Hartani shaikh's political model as a replica of their own. Now the interview glided almost imperceptibly into a shouting match and then a demonstration of naked violence.

The incident that led to this was the concept of tagulla (73) introduced by the Ait 'Atta into the interview. It refers to someone who is non-violent and can always be "corrected" with no danger to the "corrector" and was pointedly directed here at the Haratin of Ait Tlaglu, who had been the tagulla-s of the Ait 'Atta in siba times. Even though the Ait Tlaglu in siba days may have had many fields, the Ait 'Atta were masters over both them and the Ait Mnad, as the 'Atta mqaddim made very plain.

The Hartani shaikh responded by claiming that formerly the Ait 'Atta were like monkeys who never prayed and did nothing but clean their guns, and "now they are like shurfa". Significantly, he added that the Haratin Ait Tlaglu had always been their own masters, and had also gone to war on behalf of the Ait 'Atta.

At this the Ait 'Atta began to mutter dangerously and finally roared out that the Ait Tlaglu only ever "made war" against each other and never against "men from a true tribe" (iriyzen n-tqbilt). By now I was ready to slide under the table since the storm was about to break, when my assistant quietly murmured that the Haratin at Taghbalt had always evidently worked for themselves and had never been ikhammasen for the more numerous 'Atta; hence jealousy between the two groups was so marked. Both the

Hartani shaikh and the w-'Atta mqaddim agreed on the crucial point that at Taghbalt there was no 'Atta-Haratin intermarriage and the colour bar was rock-hard. My assistant said he thought that a few 'Atta in the community had taken Haratin wives, even so.

Now came the crucial question: were Haratin allowed to bear arms in siba times? The Hartani shaikh answered in the affirmative. This was the last straw, especially when the shaikh blandly volunteered that, in siba times, if one Hartani killed another or an w-'Atta, he had to flee with his ait 'ashra to the Ait Murghad.

In point of fact, he would have had to flee to his enemies' clients, the Haratin of the Ait Murghad. In addition if one w-'Atta killed the Hartani of another, the latter killed the first man's Hartani, and that ended the matter. An w-'Atta never fled if he killed a Hartani, even if he himself had no Hartani working for him. Instead, he bought another Hartani for the master of the dead one, or paid a special "not very expensive" diyit. If a Hartani killed an w-'Atta, he had to flee forever and if an w-'Atta killed a freed Hartani, a dark-skinned hurr, he himself then had to flee to the Ait Murghad or the Ait Siddrat as though he had killed one of his own fellow tribesmen. Furthermore, although a very few Haratin did make war beside their protectors, the great majority did not. They received either one-sixth of the crops with their protectors feeding them, or one-third of the crops and fed themselves. Of course, between inmura (the equivalent of ait tmurt) - sedentary negroid protegés - and irahhalen - white tribal transhumants - there was no intermarriage.

As soon as he heard what the Hartani shaikh had said, the w-'Atta mqaddim was first incredulous and the furious. Screaming "Liar!" at the shaikh, and roaring that the next Hartani to open his mouth would be fined 100 sheep on the spot, he picked up his mattock and hurled himself at the shaikh. The Ait Hadiddu mkhazni, grabbed him from behind in a hammerlock which forced him to drop his adze - there was no doubt whatsoever that he was about to brain the shaikh with it.

All of the assembled 'Atta were now converging on the Haratin, more than ready to settle all sorts of real or imagined grievances. Although only the mqaddim was armed, the scene was potentially extremely violent, as my assistant and I could observe from our prone position under the table. Luckily, however, no blood was shed for the mkhazni had saved the day. He spoke quietly to the mqaddim, then released him, and the man went back to his seat without further ado - even though after the interview was over, and once inside the privacy of my Land Rover, both the mkhazni and the mqaddim concurred that all Haratin were "black scum".

Later it became evident that at Taghbalt the Haratin

are quite well off and even powerful. They had "adopted" a tribal and segmentary system modelled on 'Atta lines which the 'Atta bitterly resented. Comments by local 'Atta after the interview suggested that in siba times the Haratin had no chief nor idbab n-imuren of their own, for "If they were not allowed to wear turbans, how could they put grass in them?" They only asserted this to show that by 1962 they were the equals of the Ait 'Atta. The mqaddim also added that the Haratin had no shfa'a rights over women because they themselves, men and women, all stood in a shfa'a relationship to the Ait 'Atta for whom they worked.

Evidently the wealth, such as it is, of the Ait 'Atta of Taghbalt, as well as their numerical superiority over the Haratin, has remained fairly constant over time. However, the Haratin occupy the two biggest igharman in the community - Ait Tlaglu and Ait Mnad - and from having once been poor and ikhammasen to the Ait 'Atta, by Independence they had started to become fairly prosperous.

Independence had also given the Haratin some new rights which they have begun to exploit. In 1964, for example, a group of Haratin near Zagura hired a modern-style lawyer from Casablanca to reclaim land which they averred that the Ait 'Atta had taken from them before the Protectorate (74). Much later, however, the case was still pending in the Sadad Tribunal in Marrakesh in 1975; it is nonetheless symptomatic. As far as political attitudes were concerned, it was already clear by 1962 that in most localities where Ait 'Atta coexisted with Haratin the former were either members of or sympathetic to the Haraka Sha' biya ("Movement Populaire" (MP)), the Middle Atlas Berber-oriented party of Mahjub Ahardan, then Minister of Defence, while the Haratin were, quite naturally, equally sympathetic either to the Istiqlal (Independence Party), the senior political party nationally, or, to a lesser extent, to the more left-wing National Union of Popular Forces, (UNFP).

4.9 A tentative Conclusion

A perusal of Jacques J. Maquet's Afrique: Les Civilisations Noires (75), is highly instructive in underlining the uniqueness of patron-client relations in 'Attaland. This becomes partcularly evident in his discussions of the East and West African attitudes towards the problem of pastoralists and agriculturalists, in mixed or pluralistic societies. These were quite different from each other, as were the ways in which the Tutsi of Rwanda, for instance, came to dominate their agricultural neighbours - a real feudal system based on individual links between master and serf - from those in which the Fulani came to dominate theirs. The Fulani, as they moved east, began to act as

herdsmen for agricultural villagers whom they could not yet dominate because behind the villagers was the force of powerful city-states. In time the Fulani appropriated the villagers' animals, and finally succeeded in becoming dominant when their conversion to Islam in the eighteenth century unified them and gave them a strong sense of their own identity as against that of the peasant villagers.

The 'Atta-Haratin case is quite a different matter. There were some individual links between patron and client, the same taboos on intermarriage, and the same exclusion of the subservient group from the political life of the protecting one. Nonetheless, there was also a much stronger contractual element in the relationship than in Rwanda or among the Ankole. It was thus a "business relationship" but, in its socio-political rather than its economic implications, it was also a relationship encompassing Maquet's notion of a "premise of inequality".

The major difficulty in extracting the complex ethnographic reality resides in the Ait 'Atta themselves. Their account of the situation was a projection of their own self-image, and hence a distortion and oversimplification of reality. In addition, this vision prevails because the Ait 'Atta, as the dominating group, are more articulate and more vociferous than the Haratin. The picture was also further complicated by the presence of other ethnic groups in the region.

Another crucial point, is that although the Ait 'Atta dominated the Haratin politically, particularly in those areas where two groups coexist, they were unable to impose their economic domination. It was precisely this more than any other factor, which was responsible for the ultimate breakdown of the system. The Ait 'Atta despise the Haratin for not being tribally organised transhumants and not owning sheep; but the Haratin, overall, own far more arable land, and outnumber the 'Atta. Yet, the Ait 'Atta were deluded or deluded themselves into thinking that contractual relations of a takhammast type were synonymous or coterminous with economic domination. In Taghbalt, in particular, economic domination was never achieved even though the Ait 'Atta there outnumber the Haratin.

Political domination of Haratin by 'Atta occurred very rapidly once the 'Atta moved out of the Saghru. In the Dra it came at the express request of the resident Haratin in the early nineteenth century. In view of this, it could be argued that the Ait 'Atta had a fledgling "state" - with a capital, an elected top chief and a Supreme Court there. However, this was not accepted by their neighbours, and certainly not by the makhzan, the government of the wider Moroccan society. Since a major criterion of a "state" is its recognition by those outside it, this argument falls of its own weight. In any case, the Ait 'Atta top chief was only a primus inter pares. Apart from a certain ritual

connected with his investiture, there was none of the ritual symbolism and paraphernalia associated, not only with the leader of almost any traditional Black African state, but also with the Sultan of Morocco. The fundamental reason why the Ait 'Atta failed to develop a true state lay in their inability to achieve economic domination over their clients.

Chapter Notes

1 Carleton S. Coon, Caravan: The Story of the Middle East, 3rd. Ed., New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962, p.2.

2 D. Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1958, p.256. See also an earlier article by the same author, "Les Oasis des Lektaoua et des Mehamid: Institutions Traditionelles des Draoua", Hespéris, XXXIV, nos.3-4, 1947, pp.397-429.

3 Spillmann, op. cit., 1931; Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1947, 1958; Gerlings and Jongmans, op. cit., 1955. For more recent studies, see Abdallah Hammoudi, "L'Evolution de l'Habitat dans la Vallée du Draa", Revue de Géographie du Maroc, No.18, 1970, pp.33-46, and E. Mennesson, "Ksour du Tafilelt", Revue de Géographie du Maroc, No.8, 1965, pp.87-92.

4 Louis Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus, Paris: Gallimard, 1966, and "Caste, Racism and Stratification: Reflections of a Social Anthropologist", in André Béteille, Ed., Social Inequality, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969, pp.337-361; and Jacques J. Maquet, The Premise of Inequality in Ruanda, London: International African Institute and Oxford University Press, 1961. Mme. Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1958, is quite mistaken on her ascription of a "caste" hierarchy to Southern Morocco, and even more so are the more rigid and more recent formulations of Constant Hamès for Mauritania, "La Société Maure ou le Système des Castes Hors de l'Inde", Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, XLVI, No.1, 1969, pp.163-177, rightly contested by Charles Stewart, "Political Authority and Social Stratification in Mauritania", in Gellner and Micaud, Eds., Arabs and Berbers, op. cit., 1973, pp.375-393. But Stewart seems to want to scrap it and to put "segmentation" in its place. This is not the answer either, for the two concepts coexist at different levels of abstraction.

5 As Gellner has correctly noted, "Introduction", Arabs and Berbers, op. cit., 1973, p.15.

6 Coon, op. cit., 1966, p.115.

7 op. cit., 1947.

8 The most important works on the many Jewish communities in Southern Morocco are: L. Voïnot, Pélérinages Judéo-Musulmanes du Maroc, Institut des

Hautes Etudes Marocaines, Notes et Documents, IV, Paris: Editions Larose, 1948; Pierre Flamand, Les Communautés Israélites du Sud-Marocain: Essai de Description et d'Analyse de la Vie Juive en Milieu Berbère, privately printed, n.d., (but ca. 1959-60); Dorothy Willner and Margot Kohls, "Jews in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco: A Partial Reconstruction", Jewish Journal of Sociology, IV, 2, December 1962, pp.207-241. For a more general treatment of Muslim-Jewish relations, see Leland Bowie, "An Aspect of Muslim-Jewish Relations in Late Nineteenth Century Morocco: A European Diplomatic View", International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, VII, 1, 1976, pp.3-19.

9 Jacques-Meunié, op, cit., 1947, pp.413-414.

10 Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1954, Annexes Nos. 29 and 30; Flamand, op. cit., n.d., ca. 1959-60, pp.55-59.

11 Jacques Meunié notes that a twelfth century Ms. from Tiyilit in the Dadss speaks of a Jewish hegemony in the region at the beginning of the Christian era, which triumphed over the Christians (sic) at Tazagurt or Zagura, and lasted until the eleventh century when it was toppled by the Almoravids, op. cit., 1947, p.413-414.

12 Spillmann, op. cit., 1931, pp.127-129; Répertoire Alphabétique, op. cit., 1939, pp.13-14, 25; and Population Rurale du Maroc, op. cit., 1962, pp.156, 346, 623, 624, 631.

13 Op. cit., n.d., pp.58-59, 324-326.

14 Ibid., p.55, and Capt. Vizioz, "Les Juifs dans l'Annexe du Ktawa", Ms., 1952.

15 Op. cit., p.57.

16 ibid., p.58.

17 Mennesson, op. cit., 1965, p.92, notes that in the Tafilalt when any qsar is inhabited by the members of more than one ethnic group, the living quarters of the groups concerned seem to be considerably more distinct from each other than in the Dra.

18 In this instance the pre-breakfast circumlocution normally used was u-shimmid, "person of a candle", with reference to the Jewish injunction regarding the burning of candles on Saturdays. As always, if a

Berber should see any of the pre-breakfast unmentionables early in the morning, it is customary for him to say "S-sbah khf-Rbbi! The morning is God's!".

19 ibid., p.57.

20 ibid., p.57.

21 ibid., p.325.

22 There is a pithy Tamazight proverb to this effect: Tuzzalt-ns asi timttat umzil, "The blasksmith is killed with his own dagger", indicating not only the social inequality of the relationship but also the fact that dagger-makers are never dagger-users.

23 It is said that anyone who eats the bread earned by a market weigher will drop dead and go to Hell instantly, because everything about a weigher is considered haram, forbidden.

24 Rather like the Ait 'Aisa of Igharm Amazdar, for the 'Atta; but the Imilwan are still regarded today both as pre-Hadiddu and as non-Hadiddu.

25 Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1947, pp.414-415.

26 Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1958, p.260.

27 Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1947, pp.414-415.

28 René Marquis de Segonzac, Au Coeur de l'Atlas, Paris 1910, p.95, cited by Spillmann, op. cit., 1931, p.96, fn.2.

29 The extrapolation in question was performed merely by applying Spillmann's proportions of 38,000 'Atta out of 157,000 people in the Dra and Tafilalt in 1930 (Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, pp.25-27) to the 1960 census figures (Population Rurale du Maroc, op. cit., 1962), which gave a percentage of 21.63 per cent Ait 'Atta per 100 per cent "other groups" (largely Haratin) in 'Attaland.

30 Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1958, p.241.

31 Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1958, pp.252-253.

32 In Berber, yus n-s-suq or mmi-s n-s-suq, and in Arabic, wuld s-suq, "son of the market", are very opprobrious designations indeed.

33 F. de la Chapelle, "Une Cité de l'Oued Dra sous le Protectorat des Nomades: Nesrat", Hespéris, IX, 1, 1929, pp.29-42.

34 Hammoudi contests the notion of qsar autarchy, and says it has been much exaggerated, that previous descriptions of the autonomous political life of qsur in the Dra have tended to lose sight of the fact that they are, both economically and politically, parts of larger wholes, and that their character, far from representing a closed world, represents essentially an open-ended one: for the qsar is inscribed in the network both of a fakhdha (Ar. lit. "thigh") or clan-group and in that of an irrigation ditch. Cf. A. Hammoudi, op. cit., 1970, p.42.

35 Population Rurale du Maroc, op. cit., 1962, p.624.

36 Capt. Paul Azam, "La Structure Politique et Sociale de l'Oued Dra", Ms., CHEAM, No.2039, 1947.

37 Mennesson, op. cit., 1965, p.90.

38 Capt. Paul Azam, "Les Cités Rurales du Ktaoua". Ms., CHEAM, No.2038, February 1946.

39 Jăcques-Meunié, op. cit., 1947 and 1958; Capt. P. Azam, op. cit., Ms. 1946 and 1947; Capt. Marcel Niclausse, "Rapports entre Nomades et Sédentaires dans le Coude du Dra - la Raia", Ms., op. cit., (CHEAM, No.2306), January 15, 1954, and "Une Tribu du Sud Marocain: les Ait Atta du Sahara", Ms., CHEAM, No.2681, 1956, p.15.

40 Capt. Azam, Ms., op. cit., 1946, Annex II (6pp).

41 de la Chapelle, op. cit., 1929, p.34.

42 Jacques-Meunié, op. cit., 1947, pp.424-426.

43 Niclausse, op. cit., Ms., 1954, Annex No.6.

44 One informant, a non-w-'Atta, qualified the usual statement by saying that one-fifth of the crop applied only to "recently liberated" Haratin, because they had been getting all their meals and clothing free as slaves, while those Haratin who had long been free, and who had thus become hrar, received one-third. This is neat reasoning but the situation sounds basically apocryphal.

45 Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1954.

46 Mennesson, op. cit., 1965, p.90.

47 For information on the ethnic composition of the Tafilalt and on the protection system as it worked there, I am indebted to Ross E. Dunn, personal communication, September 25, 1975.

48 Gerlings and Jongmans, op. cit., 1955, p.20, note that the qsar of Bni Skuken in the Ktawa experienced three changes of patronage in 52 years.

49 Niclausse, op. cit., 1954.

50 This conflicts with information that Haratin were prohibited from trial by collective oath, when disputes arose among them; but it is equally natural to assume that in disputes between Haratin and 'Atta the customary 'Atta mode of proof would of course have predominated.

51 One characteristic type of fine was the nzul (from Mor. Ar. nzil, C.A. nazala, "to descend"). The guilty party had to prepare a copious repast for the assembled jma'a whose members then had to be invited one or several times according to the gravity of the offence. Niclausse notes that "we may understand that the temptation is great". The nzul is mentioned in the 1909 agreement between Bunu and the Ait 'Alwan, in the Mhamid (Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1954, Annex No.6.

52 Annexes Nos. 7, 25 and 8, respectively, in Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1954.

53 Hammoudi, op. cit., 1970, pp.43-45.

54 de la Chapelle, op. cit., 1929, p.37.

55 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, pp.85-87, and Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1956.

56 Niclausse also mentions here a local Arabic rendering tafrawa

57 Azam, Ms., op. cit., 1947.

58 Niclausse (Ms., op. cit., 1954) notes that in 1951 ra'yan were made on several occasions to reimburse sedentary Haratin for damages caused by fires which were the fault of the former.

59 Louis-Jean Duclos, personal communication, November

3, 1968.

60 Ross E. Dunn (personal communication, August 2, 1969) reports that the Ait Khabbash who were resident in the qsar of Mzgida, north of Risani in the Tafilalt, were there all the year round and that the ra'aya was of some importance for their poorer members. The Ait Khabbash had come to Mzgida, in the time of Mulay al-Hasan I (1873-1894), on invitation from the local Haratin and hrar, just as other 'Atta had done elsewhere, to protect them from attacks by the 'Arab s-Subah. Then the ten new resident Khabbash families found themselves unjustly locked out of the qsar and robbed of their property, they brought in a large force which evicted and confiscated the property of the guilty parties, such that today Mzgida is a fully Ait Khabbash qsar (cf. also Dunn, op. cit., 1973, p.98, fn.3).

61 Ross E. Dunn, Resistance in the Desert, London: Croom Helm 1977, provides further information on this issue.

62 Angel Domenech Lafuente, Algo sobre Rio de Cro, Madrid: Selectiones Graficas, 1946, p.128.

63 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, pp.95-96, 97-98. On the 'Arib, cf. also Officier-Interprète Denoun, "Notice Monographique de la Tribu Arabe Saharienne des Arib", Marrakesh, December 2, 1924, p.23, AGGA Archives, Series H: Box 31 H 13, Archives d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence, and Lt. Terrasson, "Etude sur la Tribu des Arib", Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique Française, No.8, 1931, pp.444-455. A listing of Bni Mhammad segments is given in Denoun, Ms., op. cit., 1913, AGGA Archives, Series H: Box 22 H 79, Arch. d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence.

64 Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1954.

65 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.97, who lists 280 tents for the Na'amna clan and 142 for that of the Gradba, the two major segments of the 'Arib.

66 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.98.

67 ibid., p.98.

68 Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1954, notes that even before this time the qsar of the Ulad Mhaya was divided into two zones of influence, the "true" Ulad Mhaya, under the protection of the Ait Ghanima, and the

Ulad Jbur, under that of the Ait Hassu. About 1900, the Ait Hassu summoned to the Ktawa in an insufficient number by their fellow clan-mates, turned the Ulad Jbur over to the Ait Bu Misa'ud of the Ait 'Alwan.

This was not the only case of voluntary abandonment of a qsar by the protecting 'Atta clan: about 1915 the Ait Isful, busy in a conflict with the Ait Wahlim, turned the Ktawa qsar of Ragba over to the guardianship of their khums-mates the Ait 'Alwan, although in 1918 they were to take it back again.

69 Capt. Vizioz, "Les Draoua dans les Palmeraies du Ktawa et du M'Hamid", Ms., A.I.Fin de Stage Mémoirs, No.98, CHEAM, Cours, 1951-52, p.50.

70 Spillmann, op. cit., 1933, p.118. The issue was forced by a Haratin group, the Ahl Tilt of Tarnata, who wanted to be "liberated" from the protection of the Ait Unir. But as these and other 'Atta clan-communities had surrendered to the French in the belief that the whole of their Customary Law would rest intact and that their protection of the Haratin would continue as before, the French had to accept the 'Atta conditions.

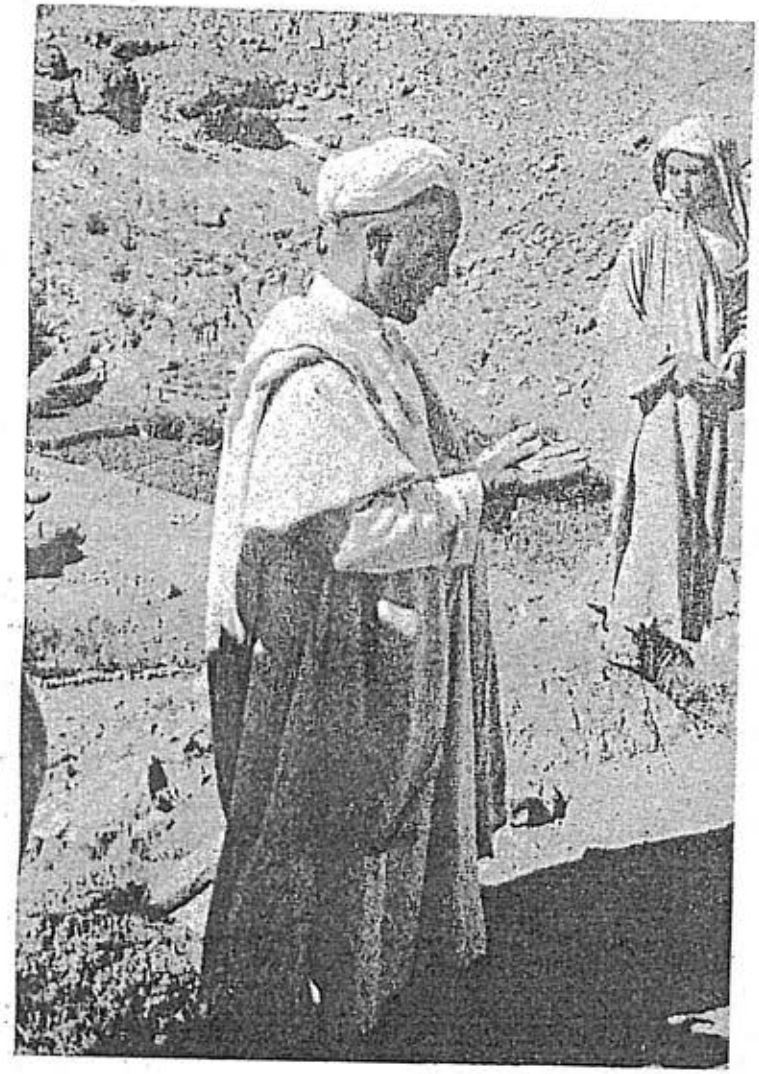
71 Niclausse, Ms., op. cit., 1954.

72 Population Rurale du Maroc, op. cit., 1962, pp.628-629. The figures, as given, are not taken directly from this source but interpolated on the basis of fieldnotes.

73 There may be a connection between this term and that of tagallit, "collective oath", as well as with the tribal name Ait Tagilla.

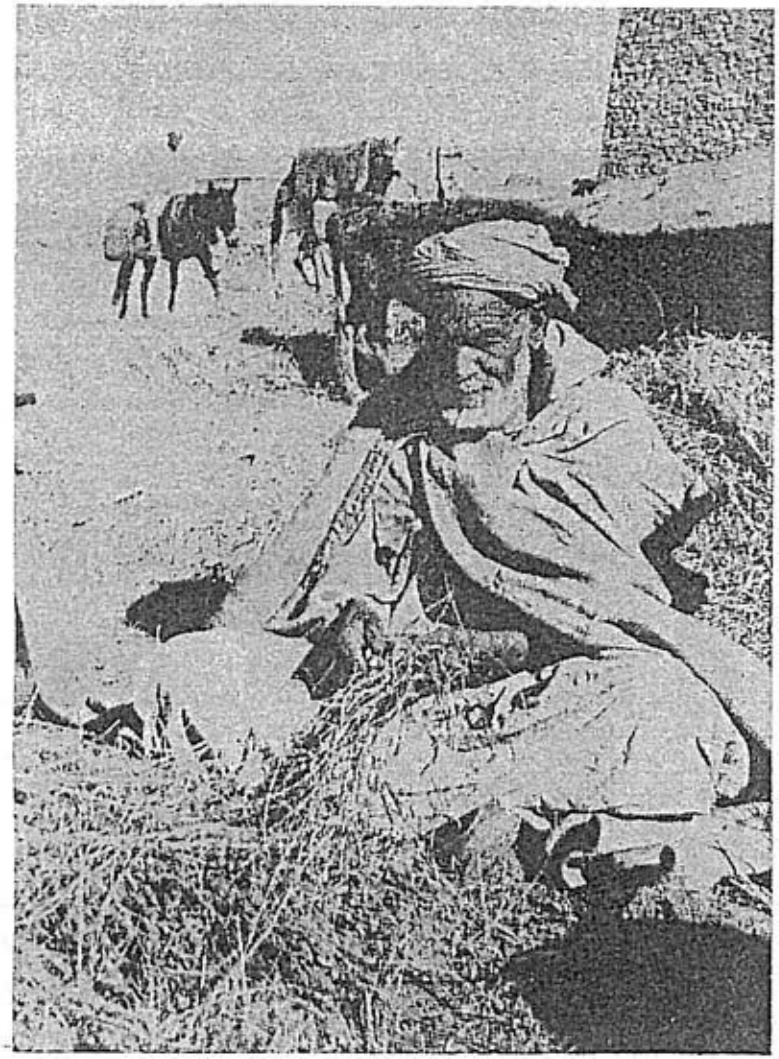
74 André Coram, personal information, November 8, 1964.

75 Paris: Horizons de France, 1962.

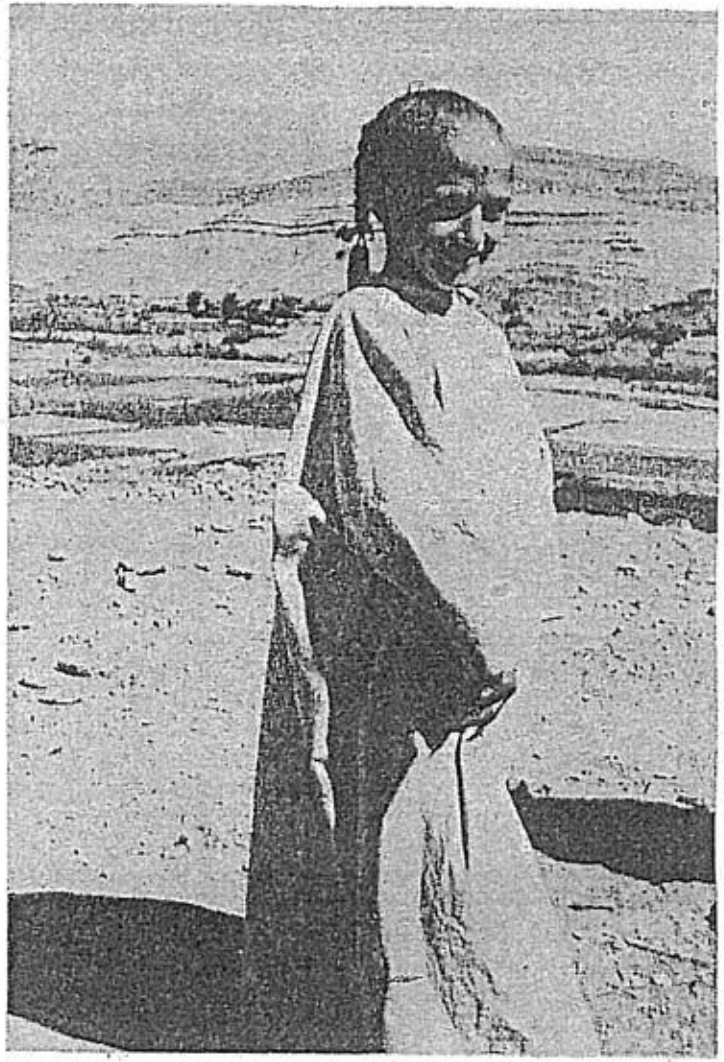


Amghar Mhand w-'Ali n-Ait Sinur
(Ait 'Atta n-Usikis) at fatiha before
sacrifice (Tidrit) 1961

Hajj Sa'id u-Yidir (parliamentary deputy)
(Zagura) 1964

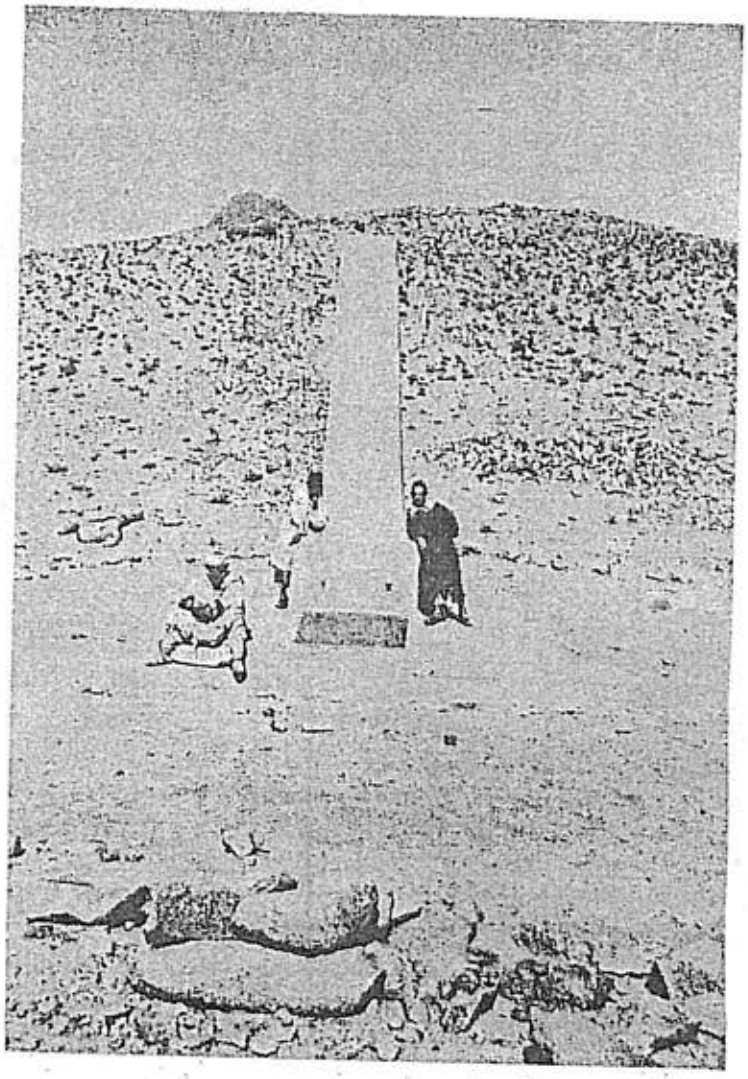


Muha w-'Addi n-Ait Baghina (Sagru) 1961
who claimed to be 130 years old



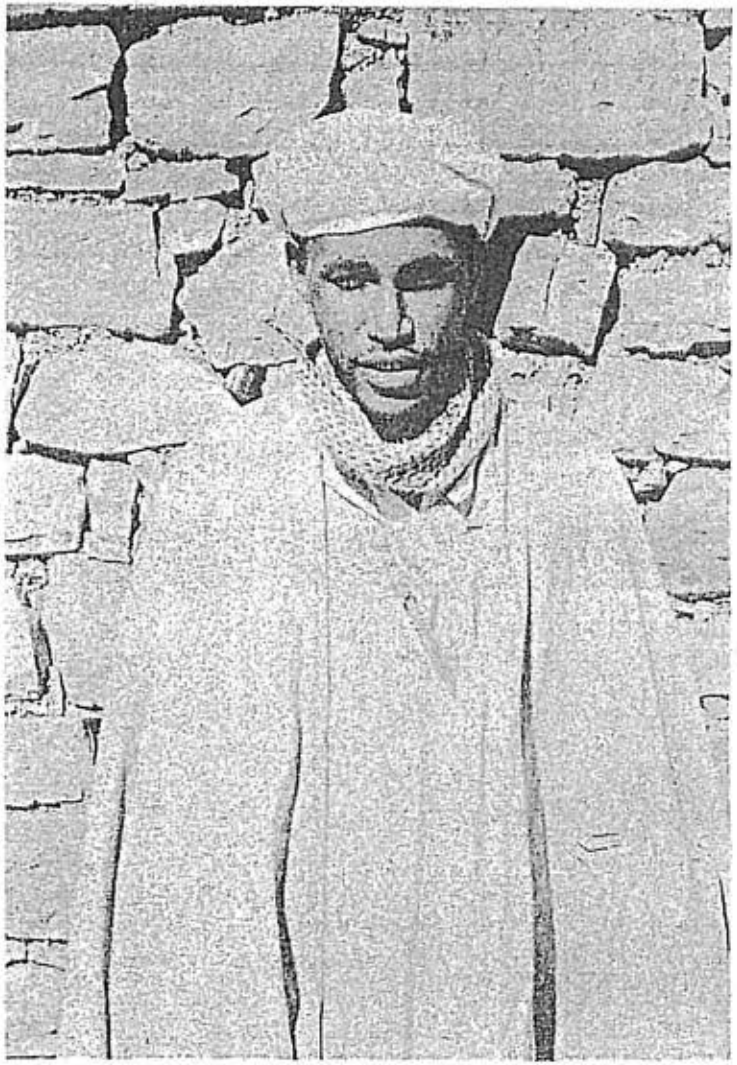
Ait 'Atta boy (Usikis) 1960

The fight at Taghbalt: Ait 'Atta mqaddim 1962



The monument at Bu Gafr (Saghru) 1962

The fight at Taghbalt: n-Hadiddu mkhazni 1962



The fight at Taghbalt: Hartani Shaikh 1962

5 RESISTANCE, PROTECTORATE AND INDEPENDENCE

It has not been generally recognised that the Ait 'Atta resistance to French colonial penetration into Morocco, from Southwestern Algeria, began as early as 1899. The resistance led to the penetration being underwritten by Jonnart, the French Governor-General in Algeria, in initial moves toward a full scale colonial grab. By 1903, the future Marshal Lyautey himself was in the vanguard of the French advance, and with Jonnart's approval adopted a much more aggressive policy, after the occupation of Bashar (Bechar).

The resistance in question was furnished by the Ait Khabbash, of the Ait Unibgi khums: and lasted until as late as 1936 - longer than any other Ait 'Atta clan.

5.1 French Penetration from Southwestern Algeria, 1899-1904, and 'Atta Contacts with the Makhzan, 1873-1912 (1)

The French military occupation of the Tuwat Oasis in December 1899 came as the first major check upon the expansion of the Ait Khabbash in the southeast. This expansion had started in 1830, if not earlier, and one of its chief incentives was the fact that the Ait Khabbash had cornered the market on caravan-protection in that part of the northern Sahara. Even a major three-year war between them and the Ait Yafalman which began in 1896 (and during which the Ait Yafalman destroyed the suq at Bu 'Am near Risani in the Tafilalt) had been unable to check it. Hence the Tuwat occupation by the French was received with great consternation because the allegiance of the Tuwatis was to the Sultan of Morocco (2).

In addition, the previous sultan, the energetic Mulay al-Hasan I (1873-1894), had, not long before his death, been able to effect a break with the traditional methods of the rulers of the Alawid dynasty in dealing with the Ait 'Atta. The tradition had been to support the Ait Yafalman and/or the Ait Siddrat, and to turn them into a makhzan instrument, as they were both potential victims of 'Atta aggression, and a buffer against 'Atta expansion into the Atlas, particularly in the northeast (3).

Because of French probing operations south of the Atlas, Mulay al-Hasan I had undertaken to lead both his court and his army from Fez to Tafilalt, a journey of 250 kilometres. He felt that a French invasion of the West-Central Sahara was imminent. The oasis dwellers in the southeast, at least, owed him bay'a, allegiance; for the Tafilalt oasis was the seventeenth-century cradle of his own dynasty and the site of the tomb of its founder, Mulay 'Ali Sharif. It was also an area of exile for politically difficult members of the royal lineage who envisioned rebellion against the incumbent Sultan. He was also anxious to end the ceaseless internal, and often lethal, jockeying for position and backbiting which had resulted from a lack of makhzan power in the area and which would give the French an excellent pretext for invasion of the Tafilalt as part of the restoration of order on the Algerian-Moroccan frontier (4).

The Ait Khabbash were key figures in Mulay al-Hasan's plans, because they themselves were also well aware of the French threat looming on the horizon. Hence, unlike his predecessors, Mulay al-Hasan opted for conciliation with the Ait Khabbash. Thus, during 1892, the year before the expedition set off, several delegations of 'Atta notables, (mostly Ait Khabbash), as well as those of shurfa and of other ethnic and tribal/occupational groups represented in the Tafilalt, visited the Royal Palace and Court in Fez. Although Mulay al-Hasan evidently did not invest the 'Atta qaids with sealed decrees, as was usually done by Sultans during audiences with tribal notables, he nonetheless obtained their assurances that things would be quiet when he reached the Lower Ziz Valley. Indeed, he also seems to have thought of going to Tuwat and he very probably hoped to use the Ait Khabbash, who were practised imzttiden on the Tafilalt-Tuwat caravan route, as an escort. There may also have been a contingency plan for employing the Ait Khabbash to attack the Ait Izdig from the south when the royal expedition was approaching from the north. In fact the Ait Izdig gave Mulay al-Hasan a peaceful reception. But this threat against a one-time Ait Yafalman ally provides an insight into the Sultan's adaptability and flexibility in his relations with tribal groups located far away from the centre of government (5).

Mulay al-Hasan only spent a month in the Tafilalt area in October 1893, and his efforts at mediation between rival factions met with only moderate success. Mulay al-Hasan's governor in Tafilalt, Mulay Rashid, who was also the head of the local shurfa community, had been quite unable to control the Ait Khabbash, and hence he allied himself with their interests. For this reason he was unable to act as a political broker or negotiator between them and the qsar dwellers or the Ait Yafalman (6). He also abandoned the idea of the trip to Tuwat but there seems little doubt that his most memorable accomplishment was to preserve good

relations with the Ait 'Atta. It was also probably the reason why his trip did not terminate in the military defeat and disaster predicted by some French observers (7). On its way back to Fez via Marrakesh however, the expedition had to battle a terrible snowstorm over the Tizi n-Tishka Pass (8). This seems to have caused a decline in the Sultan's health, as he died in June 1894 on the road back to Fez from Marrakesh.

Although the arrival of the French in Tuwat in 1899-1900 marked the apogee of the eastward expansion of the Ait Khabbash, the latter now began to harass the French columns relentlessly in the Timimun area and in the 'Arg of l-'Amira. Major engagements occurred at the former on both September 4 1900 and on February 18, 1901, and at the latter on March 3 of the same year. In the first, French casualties were 13 killed and 36 wounded; in the second, 10 killed and 20 wounded (although the Ait Khabbash themselves lost nearly a hundred dead); and in the third, 25 killed and 50 wounded (9). These were considerable losses, and there were a number of similar hit-and-run raids at this time. An Ait Khabbash (listed in these early reports as Biabar, "Berbers") harka mentioned by Martin appeared at Timimun in February 1901 (10). The uninterrupted fighting reported by French sources between the Ait 'Atta and the Ait Murghad throughout May 1900 shows that not all the energies of the Ait Khabbash were directed against the French (11). Ait Khabbash raids in the Sawra occurred in April 1904 and in August-October 1906 (12). French reports note similar activities in the same area from mid-October 1931 to mid-January 1934; and the gap between the two periods does not indicate that the Ait Khabbash were inactive or quiescent during the interim. The reverse, indeed, was very much the case.

At the same time, the Ait 'Atta and other local tribes were aware of events further north. In 1903-1904 some Ait Khabbash and other people from the southeast got involved in a makhzan-organised harka in the north against the Pretender Bu Hmara. Their real motive in coming to Fez appears merely to have been to pick what armament they could and indulge in some comparatively harmless looting (13). Their participation in a mhalla or makhzan force of this kind could hardly have constituted a pro-makhzan position on their part, especially as the makhzan action against Bu Hmara occurred far away from their homeland and was hence of little consequence to them.

Nonetheless one aspect of what was to become Lyautey's policy of pénétration pacifique meant that French pressure on Morocco, not only from the direction of Algeria to the east but from the French consulates in the Atlantic coastal towns, notably Tangier, to the west, had begun well before the turn of the century and became more strident and more

obvious after 1900. It led to both the Act of Algeciras in 1906, which gave France and Spain a free hand, and then, inexorably, to the establishment of the Franco-Spanish Protectorage in 1912.

These events were viewed with as much alarm in the southeast as elsewhere (14). Fearing the worst, a delegation of Ait Khabbash came to Fez from the Rtab in June 1911, bearing a letter to the British consul, Sir James MacLeod. In the letter they solicited the protection of the British government against the French, who were encroaching ever more closely on their homeland. MacLeod of course, could do nothing, and the delegation was turned away as by now the colonial die was cast - the British had no option but to support the French. More important is the context in which the delegation took place. it came just after a French column, which had landed in Casablanca in 1907, had succeeded in breaking the siege of Fez by local tribesmen. This had come about as a result both of the French presence and the dynastic struggle for power between Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz (1894-1908) and Mulay 'Abd al-Hafid (1908-1912), in a classically Moroccan situation of contested legitimacy, which occurred at a most critical time (15). In this context, the 'Atta delegation from the Rtab represented an obvious attempt to avoid any retribution from the French at a time when a protectorate was imminent and before the situation had become clear cut.

The advance of the French column from Casablanca on Fez, with feelers sent into the Tadla, had greatly worried all Moroccans, especially, of course, those nearest the the areas concerned. Except for the Ait Khabbash in the southeast, however, no part of 'Attaland had been directly affected; but the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu in the far northwest, virtually overlooking the Bni Mallal and the Tadla Plain, had become very nervous about what was going on. This was especially true of one of their imgharen, a Shaikh Muha u-Sa'id l-'Attawi, who tried to strike a balance with the French (16). In the archives of the Zawiya Sharqawiya at Buja'd in the Tadla, there was an undated letter from a key figure in the zawiya addressed to Capt. Monier, recounting all the efforts he had made to keep the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu from attacking the French column and hinting that suitable recompense would be appreciated.

This was linked, in French eyes, with the efforts of the Saharan Shaikh Ma' l-'Ainin to stir up the Tadla plainsmen against the French as of June-August 1910 (17). By August 1910, two sizeable intertribal harkas were formed, which threatened the French rearguard at Dar Shafa'i. One was made up of Bni Musa and "Berber" tribesmen, totalling 2,000-3,000 men on foot and 1,000 horsemen, under the overall direction of Shaikh Muha u-Sa'id l-'Attawi. The French were particularly concerned because Shaikh Muha tried unsuccessfully to get the Bni Zimmur and the Sma'ala, two further Tadla tribes, involved as well. It seems that

Shaikh l-'Attawi had his best luck in "eating" (looting) the Sraghna - "eating" was a time-honoured makhzan practice to bring recalcitrant tribes to heel - as the August -September period marked the end of the agricultural season.

French efforts to buy off l-'Attawi with money failed, although he seems to have considered the veiled military threat, for, after Ma'l-'Ainin, the French had become very concerned lest some other mrabit or local saint try to stir up a jihad against them, particularly in their rear. In October, the French noted with alarm, "After a new meeting held at Buja'd on October 17, groups were assembled as of October 22 at Qsar Zidaniya which consisted of 400 horsemen from Bni Musa and 600 from the Bni 'Amir, and these were then swelled up by contingents from the Ait Wirra, Ait 'Atta (n-Umalu) and other Berber collectivities of the same saff (ie. league, alliance group)".

By November, however, the tribesmen turned their attention to the next agricultural season, and l-'Attawi's attempts to secure his rearguard by patching up the feud between the Wardigha and the Sma'ala failed. The Sid at Buja'd evidently claimed credit for this dispersal, but nonetheless the French Colonel, Branlière, had a good idea of what was going on and wrote of it in convincing detail.

Shaikh Muha u-Sa'id l-'Attawi had by now become relatively moderate, keeping outside the French rearguard area. Some Ait 'Atta n-Umalu, together with Bni Amir, Bni Musa, Bni Ma'dan and l-Gittaya contingents, now attacked the rich irrigated gardens of Bni Mallal. By December 1910 Branlière wrote that the threat of jihad was less menacing. The Ait 'Atta n-Umalu, who had become more enthusiastic about the network of irrigation ditches around Bni Mallal, were more concerned in fighting over them than anything else. Muha u-Sa'id l-'Attawi in the meantine tried to extend his influence as a mediator over the Tadla tribes, and by so doing he now threatened the interests of the Sid of Buja'd, who was of course doing exactly the same thing. By May 1911, the same pattern, of opposition between Muha u-Sa'id and the Sid of Buja'd, was still continuing, but the French had lost interest. The tribes were fighting among themselves, just what the French wanted to protect the Shawiya and neighbouring regions of the Atlantic Coastal Plain.

The episode is of interest because it indicated in a crisis situation where the effective southern limits of the Sid of Buja'd lay, and how he handled himself politically. There is obviously no question of his having had any influence over the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu. Indeed, it is clear that the French set up Muha u-Sa'id l-'Attawi in opposition to the Sid of Buja'd. However, for the main bloc of the Ait 'Atta these events had little significance until the end of World War I in Europe. As yet only the two extremes

of 'Attaland, the southeast and the northwest, had begun to feel the pinch.

5.2 The Ait 'Atta and The Glawa, 1912-1931.

Marshal Lyautey's first major long-term goal, once the Protectorate had been established, was "pacification-through-peaceful-penetration", on a tribe-by-tribe basis. It was to involve almost entirely Berber-speaking tribes assumed to be in a state of siba in Morocco's mountainous interior. This "pacification", furthermore, was to be accomplished in the name of the Sultan and of the Moroccan makhzan. The "pacification", as well as the Customary Law dispensations for Berber tribes which accompanied it, culminating in the famous 1930 Dahir, was a long and costly operation for the French: it began in 1913, in the Middle Atlas, and did not end until 1934 in the Anti-Atlas and West Saharan fringe. Indeed, mopping-up operations continued until 1936. Although the Ait 'Atta in general were not drawn into the conflict until 1918, they came to represent a major factor in its prolongation.

A primary reason for the provocation of active 'Atta involvement and, in some cases, of indirect collaboration with the French, was the operations of the notorious Hajj Tahami l-Glawi in the whole area south and east of Warzazat. A competent, scholarly and analytical biography ot this fascinating personality, a major figure in the history of twentieth-century Morocco, still needs to be written (18); but almost as soon as the Protectorate was set up the Glawi emerged as uncontestably the most powerful of the three famous "Big Qaids", whose positions in the Western Atlas had all been underwritten by the French. The other two wars 'Abd l-Malik l-Mtuggi, and Si Tayyib l-Gundafi, of the Mtugga (or Imtuggan), and the Gundafa, (or Igundafen) tribes respectively, - although the Gundafi evidently did not remain in the running for very long.

There were a number of reasons for this, one of the more dramatic of which was that the Glawi brothers - Qaid Si Madani l-Glawi, the elder, and Hajj Tahami, the younger - had established their ascendancy with devastating effect over the neighbouring tribes by 1901 with a Krupp cannon. More important, perhaps, Lyautey had reconfirmed Hajj Tahami in 1912 as Pasha of Marrakesh. With French support the Glawi brothers were able, between November 1912 and June 1913, not only to defeat l-Hiba Wuld Shaikh Ma' l-'Ainin at Tarudant but also to install their own partisans as qaids in all the western Atlas tribes from the Msfiwa to the Upper Sus River region. The Msfiwa case is of interest: they wanted no part of the Glawi brothers, especially of Hajj Tahami, but their determined resistance to them had

been broken by a heavy French artillery barrage in September 1912. Just after this, the Glawi's agents delivered the coup de grace by confiscating the year's almond crop, at gunpoint. The monopolistic marketing of Western Atlas almonds and tolls had become the Glawi brothers' principal sources of revenue since the collapse of the caravan trade in the region in the 1880s. Even the French Affaires Indigènes officers were shocked by this event, but soon convinced themselves that it had happened for the greater honour and glory of France (19).

The Glawi brothers were more than ready to assist the French in pacifying recalcitrant tribes, as it meant more money and power for them. Having already moved successfully to the southwest, by 1916 the Glawi was ready to move northeast. In October 1916 a column of four thousand regulars, commanded by General de Lamothe and preceded by a combined Glawa-Ntifa harka, brought about the submission of the Ait Bu Gmaz, Ait 'Abbas, Ait Attab and part of the Ait Mhand, as well as the Ait Unir of Birnat, and created the A.I. post of Azilal. But it was shortlived, and when a second column was sent to the Ait Attab in July-August 1918, 'Abd l-Malik, the favourite son of Qaid Si Madani, was killed on July 30, and his father died of grief in Marrakesh at the news on August 14. So Hajj Tahami was ratified as Si Madani's successor.

In August 1918, just before Hajj Tahami succeeded his brother, the French, suffered a major reversal in the Tafilalt at the hands of some 400 Ait 'Atta under the leadership of a Susi talib from the Id aw-Simlal who claimed to be the saint Sidi Mhand n-Ifrutant, long buried in the Upper Ragg, who had returned to drive the Christians from the Tafilalt. The false Sidi Mhand n-Ifrutant, however, was shot a year later, after an altercation, by an Idrisid sharif named Bil-Qasim Ngadi, a dissident from the Angad Plain near Oujda (20). He was a man who had other claims on 'Atta attention, and we shall hear more of his shortly.

The Glawi was asked by the French to make a diversion to the Tudgha to cut off the rearguard of the unsubmitted Ait 'Atta. In December he organised the biggest harka yet seen north of the Atlas (over 10,000 men) and led it to the Tudgha, some 300 kilometres from its home base. The Ait 'Atta were beaten on January 24, 1919, at l-Hara and on the following February 12-13 at Fum l-Qus n-Tazult, with 91 killed and over 300 wounded (21).

Some Ait 'Atta were impressed enough by this success to join the Glawi. First and foremost were the Ait Bu Iknifen of Imidar, whose leader, Hajj Faska, also happened to be the amghar n-ufilla of all the Ait 'Atta in that year. He died in office, but he left two very strong-minded sons, Muhaddash and Hammu u-l-Hajj Faska, both of whom rallied almost immediately to the Glawa cause, as did their two

younger brothers Bassu and Ishshu (22). However, although he had gained some allies, most of the Ait 'Atta were not going to forgive the Glawi for the actions of his harka. He was also well aware by now that the Ait 'Atta would be the major obstacle both to the French and to his own domination of Morocco south of the Central Atlas. This conviction was shared by none other than the Resident-General in Rabat, Marshal Lyautey himself.

In consequence (23), Lyautey now took a step of crucial importance. In a directive dated March 30, 1920, to the colonel commanding the Marrakesh region, he stipulated that Hajj Tahami l-Glawi be given the sum of 200,000 francs in order to finance future harka operations deemed necessary in the Dadss and Tudgha Valleys. The Ait 'Atta were to be softened up as soon as possible by native harka-s rather than by French troops - the former, in the colonial view, being implicitly more expendable.

Once Hajj Tahami had received this very substantial "kickback" (24) he began to form a second harka in May 1920 and the process took two months. For the French the results of the harka the previous year had been indecisive, as Bil-Qasim Ngadi, had become master of the Tafilalt by replacing Mhand n-Ifrutant, and was rallying the dissident Ait 'Atta. His lieutenant Ba 'Ali, already master of the Farkla, now took over the Tudgha and besieged the Glawa garrison at Tinghir. In the Dadss also the situation was confused, and certain clans began to make pacts with Bil-Qasim. As the Tudgha garrison could have been cut off from its line of supply, the second Glawa harka had to move down fast.

The expedition left the Glawi's base at Talwat on July 9. It consisted, once again, of 10,000 Glawa and other partisans plus a tabur of artillery with six cannons; and this time Qaid Si Hammu l-Glawi, the son-in-law of the late Qaid Si Madani l-Glawi and the acting khalifa of the Pasha, accompanied Hajj Tahami.

The recalcitrant Ait 'Atta, thanks to Hajj Tahami's alliance with Muhaddash u-l-Hajj Faska and the Ait Bu Iknifen of Imidar, were beaten on July 31 at Timardarwin of the Ignawen and once again at Fum l-Qus n-Tazult on August 1. They lost over 300 killed and had a large number of wounded. Once again the Ait 'Atta bloc had been shaken and Hajj Tahami now designated an amghar n-ufilla, a top chief, for them - none other than his ally Muhaddash of the Ait Bu Iknifen of Imidar.

Even so, the Glawa were never able to take over more than three or four other qsur at Tinghir itself, and despite the fact that Hajj Tahami had acquired the Ait Bu Iknifen as allies, and was to acquire other 'Atta groups in the Lower Dadss and the Dra, notably the Ait Slillu of Nqub, the majority of 'Atta clans remained obstinately hostile to him. This hostility was maintained particularly by the

brothers 'Assu and Bassu u-Ba Slam of the Ait Bu Tghuratin lineage of the Ilimshan resident at Taghya n-Ilimshan, just southeast of Tinghir on the way to the Saghru. They were old enemies of Muhaddash and his brothers of the Ait Bu Iknifen, and thus they perpetuated a long-standing feud between the Ilimshan and the Ait Bu Iknifen. However, 'Assu u-Ba Slam, a man with an extraordinarily vigorous and dynamic personality, was soon to become the leading actor in the Ait 'Atta drama, and the spearhead of their resistance against the Glawi and the French.

The Glawi's activity in 1920 in both the Tudgha and Dadss stabilised the Makhzan positions in these areas for the next few years, and an uneasy stalemate prevailed throughout the greater part of the decade. The Glawi khalifa-s followed makhzan practice, levying taxes and fines when and where they could - with markedly greater success on the sedentaries and groups like the Ait Siddrat of the Middle Dadss than on any of the 'Atta groups. As for Bil-Qasim Ngadi, his lieutenant Ba 'Ali revolted against him while he himself suffered a defeat by the French in the Upper Ziz Valley in 1921. No more was heard of him until his reemergence in the Tafilalt in 1927 and in the Dra the following year, with the Ait Khabbash.

In 1922 the Glawa harka suffered a serious setback further north, in the Ait Mhand. Once the Middle Atlas had been pacified, the French wanted to penetrate the area where it meets the Central Atlas; and accordingly on September 1, 1922, a large French groupe mobile under General Daugan occupied Bu Yihya, where the post of Ait Mhand (usually referred to as Ait Mhammad) was set up. On September 26 this column connected with another one, coming up from the Tadla, at Wawizakht. The posts of Wawizakht and Bin l-Widan (Afurar) were created, thereby giving the French cover for the Azilal-Tadla front.

The Glawi, with a 7,000 strong harka, was assigned to cover the right flank of the column by making a diversion toward the Ait Bu Gmaz. Hajj Tahami had wanted to intervene in this area for several years as the prestige of the leading agurram of the Ihansalen, Sidi Mah n-Ait Sidi Mulay, irked him, for he himself naturally aspired to command. However, from the beginning, his harka had been several days behind schedule. It was also poorly equipped, as most of the ammunition had been inadvertently left behind at Talwat. Finally, the Ait Bu Iknifen of Imidar, on whose support the Glawi had counted despite French warnings, failed to appear.

Nonetheless, on September 4 and 6 he unsuccessfully attacked the assembled Ait Mhand, Ait Ishsha and Ait Bu Gmaz, all supported by 'Atta contingents from the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast and from the Ait Usikis at considerable cost - 34 killed, 72 wounded. General Daugan then proposed that his men should guard the post at Bu Yihya,

but he refused, as he was quite incapable of being anything other than a prima donna.

This was, perhaps, the only setback the Glawi suffered as a harka leader, and it clearly showed the dislike of Glawa leadership in the Central Atlas, and to the south. In future Hajj Tahami would not personally command harkas and Glawa partisans were only utilised thereafter when supported by regular troops and under the order of French officers. As it happens, this region was only fully pacified in May-June 1933, when the Ait Ugguddid, the Ait Mhand, the Ait Bu Gmaz and the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast surrendered directly to the French without the intermediary of the Glawi. As as Sidi Mah finally came over to the protecting power, the Glawi had to renounce his idea of extending his area of command into the Central Atlas (25).

After the expedition of 1919-1920 to the Tudgha a number of Ait 'Atta clans supported the Glawa intermittently and, from 1920 to 1924, helped Si Hammu levy taxes on the Haratin of the Fezwata, the Ktawa and the Mhamid. The Haratin, already Ait 'Atta clients, soon began to resent these new burdens, and appealed to the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Mashkukud. They forced Si Hammu's representatives back but the latter then made such excessive demands that the Haratin finally paid them 20,000 duros hasani to leave.

Elsewhere the Ait 'Atta continued to suspect the Glawa and Si Hammu of trying to be masters rather than allies. In 1924 small detachments of Glawi partisans sent to the Ktawa and the Mhamid, were sent back to the Tinzulin by the Ait 'Alwan. Both the Ktawa and the Mhamid remained free of Glawa influence (26) for the next twenty years, until the mid-1940s.

The Glawa penetration into 'Attaland started the break-up of the traditional 'Atta political system. After 1924, the French began to take over in the Dra and the Ait 'Atta were no longer unified. They had no effective top chief and the Supreme Court at Igharm Amazdar had, to all intents and purposes, ceased to function. This was a situation of grave external crisis and new pro-Glawi and anti-Glawi alignments formed.

The central figure in the former was Muhaddash, and in the latter it was 'Assu u-Ba Slam, two men who never wavered in their stances unlike many others who hedged their bets. One of these was Hammu u-Lahsin u-bin Murghi (1860-1940) of the Ait Bu Dawud of Tazarin, who was elected top chief for several years running. In 1919 he headed an 'Atta harka operating against the Glawi while after the Tudgha expedition in 1920 he switched sides. In 1921 he came to Marrakesh to protest his pro-Makhzan sentiments but by 1927 he again favoured 'Atta hostility towards the Glawi.

Another 'Atta notable who did not share his father's views about the Glawi was Bassu u-Mimun n-Ait l-Algham

(1893-1957), of the Ait Tmgunt lineage of the Ait Slillu, the Ait Unir of Nqub. His father, Khuya u-Mimun n-Ait l-Algham had been a top 'Atta chief and in 1927 favoured the Ait Unir of the Dra alliance with the Ait Isful, to form a harka against the Glawi's khalifa at Tarnata. Two years later he supported the Ait Unir of the Dra and the Ait Siddrat there against the Glawa and the Ulad Yihya Arabs.

Then Bassu u-Mimun took over, rejecting his father's fierce independence. Instead he made overtures to the makhzan and the Glawi. In 1927 Bassu u-Mimun, evidently in disagreement with his father, left Nqub for the Ait Slillu of the Dadss. During the 1929 anti-Glawa harka he returned to the Dra with 50 Ait Unir from the Dadss to act as negotiator between the Glawa and his own fellow clansmen. After 1930, he came back to Nqub, reconciled with his father and de facto leader of the Ait Unir of Nqub. On October 6, 1931 he informed the French A.I. post at Agdz that his clan had "rallied" in their favour - for until 1934 Glawi influence there had faded. In a de jure sense, unfortunately, it was only dormant.

5.3 The Ait Khabbash in the Dra Valley, 1926-1931

One effect of the arrival of the Glawa partisans in the Upper Dra (27) had been to stop the northern invasion of Arab nomads and Berber transhumants. In 1924 Qaid Si Hammu had advanced to Tinzulin and obliged the Ait Unir to evacuate two qsur which they had recently occupied. He then installed his khalifa for the Tarnata in one of the two qsur. The Ait Unir were extremely bitter about this, and in August 1927, together with the Ait Isful, they took over Tayirsut qsar and slaughtered over a hundred Haratin, of all ages and both sexes. All the other Haratin qsur in the area hastened to pay them whatever they asked to ensure peace, and only four qsur agglomerations in the Tarnata, occupied by Glawa supporters, remained faithful to Si Hammu.

Ait Unir pressure continued relentlessly throughout 1928. Abandoned by the Glawa who prudently removed their garrisons, discouraged by the liquidation of their shaikhs who were brutally murdered by the Ait 'Atta, the Haratin inhabitants of the qsur of Bni Zuli, Taghallin and Ighardain all sacrificed to the Ait Unir. In late 1928 the latter took Zawiyat l-Qadi, where they even murdered the venerated qadi, Si 'Abd ar-Rahman bin Si Muhammad. They took over the Ruha Arabs but the Ulad Yihya kept their distance through their leader Shaikh l-'Arabi and his "judicious employment of force and of traditional political ways and means" (28).

Further south in the Dra Valley in 1925 the Ait 'Alwan

murdered their erstwhile client Mulay Dahbi, the sharif who had acquired a large piece of the Mhamid Oasis. This led to the Ait Khabbash intervention in the Lower Dra three years later. Tension had mounted between the Ait 'Alwan and the 'Arib, who had succeeded them as ra'yan of Mulay Dahbi's quarter of Mhamid. An 'Aribi who had previously sacrificed to the Ait Khabbash had a house in the Ulad Dris qsar in the Mhamid. A group of Ait 'Alwan entered it during his absence and stole two large boxes of silver duros hasani. The affair could not be settled and a war broke out between the 'Arib and the Ait 'Alwan (29).

The 'Arib called in the Ait Khabbash with Bil-Qasim in the Tafilalt to help them. The Ait Khabbash responded quickly, because they realised that the French were going to occupy the Tafilalt sooner or later, and because they wanted revenge on the Ait Wahlim for occupying their property in the region during the reign of Mulay Hasan I, after they had moved further east.

Two ad hoc and opposed alliance factions were quickly formed in April 1926 - the Ait Khabbash, the 'Arib and the qsar-dwellers of Mhamid against the Ait 'Alwan, the Ait Isful and the Id aw-Blal to the west. The Ait 'Alwan were abandoned two months later by the Ait Isful, who had a more important struggle with the Ait Hassu of the Ait Wahlim for supremacy in the Ktawa. They were bought out by Sidi Muhammad wuld Sidi Khalil, the kbir of the 'Arib, and the Id aw-Blal who had received a threatening letter from Bil-Qasim Ngadi. They had also been impressed by an 'Arib raid on Ait 'Alwan herds pasturing between Tata and Tisint, in the Bani, and were advised by the French A.I. Annex at Tarudant not to interfere in the Dra Bend region. In August the Ait 'Alwan, now entirely alone, made peace, conceding part of their holdings in Mhamid l-Ghuzlan to the Ait Khabbash.

In the middle of this a Glawa khalifa, supposedly in charge of levying taxes, arrived in the Dra in mid-December. He soon discovered that Hajj Tahami's influence was nearly zero and he was forced by the Ait Khabbash to take refuge in the Zawiya Nasiriyin at Tamgrut. The shaikh there had no cause to love the Ait 'Atta, for his predecessor, Sidi Hmad bin Bu Bkar, had been murdered by Ait Y'azza men early in 1919, at the instigation of the false Sidi Mhand n-Ifrutant. The Ait Khabbash confirmed the victory by the usual levy of 110,000 francs hasani on the qsar-dwellers which was used to buy the alliance of any Ait 'Atta who might be wavering towards the Glawa.

In January 1927, such an alliance was effected between the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Isful, who strongly disapproved of their man 'Addi u-Khiyi as top amghar of the Ait 'Atta, as he had been patently nominated, not elected, under the aegis of the Glawi. One hundred and fifty Ait Khabbash ravaged the Dra bend with the Ait Isful, until

confronted by a Msuffa harka from the Ait Wallal. Thereafter they maintained a state of chronic insecurity on the edges of the valley and intensified their anti-French propaganda. Finally, in June, the Ait Isful murdered 'Addi u-Khiyi. The Ait Unir sought their support for an attack on the qsur of the Tarnata. Fighting there was only ended by a truce in January 1928.

Meanwhile, in April 1927, an Ait 'Alwan delegation of ten notables went to Tabalbala to obtain authorisation from the French for the reestablishment of their alliance with the Id aw-Blal, for in July 1928 they furnished a contingent to the Ait Isful against the Glawa. The gesture was useless, for the Ait Isful could not prevent the Ait Khabbash from interfering yet again in the Mhamid district. At the end of August 1928, they chased the Ait 'Alwan out of the qsar of Ulad Mhaya. All the qsar-dwellers of the oasis offered sacrifices to the conquerors, who installed forty of their men in the qsar of Ulad Dris. They then invited Bil-Qasim Ngadi, who had been eagerly waiting in the Tafilalt, to join them there where a burj, a tower, could be built for him. They then went to the Tarnata to collect from the local Haratin the fee for intervening after the Ait Unir massacre. In addition, they forced the Ait 'Alwan to pay a 6,000 duros hasani indemnity.

Bil-Qasim Ngadi only took up the Ait Khabbash offer to install himself in the Dra reluctantly as his influence was on the wane. In the Tafilalt, he had sought to utilise the Ait Khabbash to impose his own authority over the region and to oppose French influence; but the Ait Khabbash had worked far more in their own interests than in his. Bil-Qasim had sought to unite all the Berber tribes in the struggle against the French, but without great success, for, as the country became calm again, the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Murghad resumed their roles of ra'yan of the Filala, and repeated their reciprocal struggles for influence. As each group jealously safeguarded its own interests, only passing attention was paid to the fittan, the agitator, Bil-Qasim. He had never been able to set himself up as uncontested master of the Tafilalt and was obliged to count on the Ait Khabbash, who, although they considered him leader of the dissidents, would not let him operate in any district over which they held sway.

In addition, in any struggle between the Ait 'Atta and the Ait Yafalman, Bil-Qasim could not support one or other localised clan without alienating himself. He could only play a conciliatory role, aided by the local shurfa and mrabtin; and hence became a factor promoting equilibrium between the two tribal power-groups. Finally, no single u-Khabbash was particularly devoted to him and he had to address himself principally to the clan's raiders, in the hope of making them act jointly with his own cohorts when he wanted to ban Filala relations with the zone submitted

to the French, for example. They supported him as dissident leader whenever they wished to safeguard their own interests or when they stood to gain (30).

In the Dra, the Ait Khabbash installation meant that all the Haratin qsur in Mhamid now sacrificed to them; and they confided to the 'Arib the protection of the oasis. However, some 30 Ait Khabbash tents remained in the Mhamid, where they transformed the qsar of Ulad Mhaya into a strong point, detailing sentinels to the east to watch over the 'Arib and the Ait 'Alwan penetration toward the Dawra region and toward Tabalbala. The Ait Khabbash authorised the Ait 'Alwan and the 'Arib to camp in the Dawra only on condition that they provided information about the movements of the French column toward the west.

In January 1930 the Ait Khabbash asked the other Ait 'Atta in the Dra to provide contingents against the Ait Murghad of Tafilalt. Two hundred warriors were sent, including fifty 'Arib. However, the Ait 'Alwan significantly abstained, declaring rancorously that Ait 'Atta solidarity did not apply to them until they were returned the property which had been taken from them.

As the French began to move south to the Dra and to supplant the Glawa garrisons in 1931, a small but growing Ait Khabbash surveillance contingent was maintained at Mhamid until 1933-1934. Their liason with fellow clansmen, given their mobility, was very close and they made the 'Arib, who had appealed to them in the first place, fetch and carry for them.

The Glawi's minions were powerless here as elsewhere and General Hurê claims that, although the makhzan flag was still flying in the Glawi's qasba at Tinghir, where a hundred Glawa partisans were housed, truly paradoxical situations sometimes developed. On one occasion the partisans stayed on one floor while the Ait 'Atta in siba had taken over the others, fighting up and downstairs and across the ceilings and roofs. The Glawa were kept in food and ammunition only thanks to smuggling expeditions (31). And in the Dra, the new French post at Zagura, created in January 1932, relieved Glawa partisans of a command which they would only reclaim in 1943 (32).

5.4 The French Advance and Occupation of the Dra, 1927-1932

In 1927, French troops arrived at Warzazat and three Ait 'Atta notables submitted to them - Muhaddash u-l-Hajj Faska of the Ait Bu Iknifen n-Imidar, Bassu u-Mimun n-Ait l-Algham of the Ait Slillu n-Nqub, and Mbark u-l-Fudil of the Ait Wallal n-Dadss. These three men, together with Hammu u-Lahsin u-bin Murghi of the Ait Bu Dawud (Ait Hassu) of Tazarin, were Glawi supporters who found no

difficulty in going over to the French (33). No doubt 'Addi u-Khiyi of the Ait Isful would have done so as well had he not been murdered earlier by his own constituents. These submissions only accounted for certain 'Atta groups located north of the Upper Dra Valley. Much further north, the Ait Sa'id w-Ishshu clan, at least, of the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu of Wawizakht surrendered on February 18, 1930 (34). In the Dra itself all the Ait 'Atta clans were resolutely hostile to French penetration except for the Ait Unir and the Msuffa of the Ait Wallal at Zagura. The most hostile of all were the Ait Isful of the Fazwata and the Ktawa - who were, however, soon to number among the most unwavering ranks of the French partisans, despite their detestation of the Glawi.

One major reason for the initial 'Atta resistance to the French in the Dra was that, initially, the latter interfered in 'Atta-Haratin relations to protect the Drawa from their 'protectors'. Spillmann came to realise that this was a dangerous procedure and he recommended his superior, Lt. Col. Chardon, that it be stopped. He wanted to attract the 'Atta, particularly the Ait Isful, over to the French side, little by little. So he arranged for an w-Isful from the Ktawa who had been wounded in February 1931, on a raid against the Ait Siddrat of the Dadss, to be hospitalised and treated by a French doctor. This, together with promises of help against the Ait Hassu of the Ait Wahlim, impressed the Ait Isful.

On April 25 the Ait Unir of the Dra surrendered at Tinzulin to the French Commander, once he had assured them that the makhzan would let them retain all the qsur they had taken over and that their women would not have to participate in the dances of the Haratin. Indeed their whole Customary Law and ra'aya rights were also to be integrally retained, Huré assured them (35).

Throughout 1931, war between the Ait Isful and the Ait Hassu of the Ait Wahlim gave the Ait Khabbash, supported by Bil-Qasim Ngadi, a chance to intervene. The Ait Hassu, about to be evicted from Ktawa and the Mhamid, appealed to the Ait Khabbash. The latter, in September 1931, sent in 200 warriors under their amghar, Muhammad u-Bani, who captured the qsar of Bni Sbih in the Ktawa by assault and put a permanent guard there.

At this the Ait Isful began to negotiate in earnest with the French. On September 24 they were assured that they would be fully supported once they produced tangible proof that they were really on the French side. As a result, they held back the Ait Khabbash and, on November 12, returned to the Agdz bureau to announce the election of Lahsin w-'Addi n-Ait Khiyi, son of the late top chief, as amghar of the Ait Isful. The French then supplied them with 5,000 cartridges and several Lebel Model 1886 eight-shot magazine rifles, the most prized firearm in tribal

Morocco, and thus obtained the alliance of the Ait Isful (36).

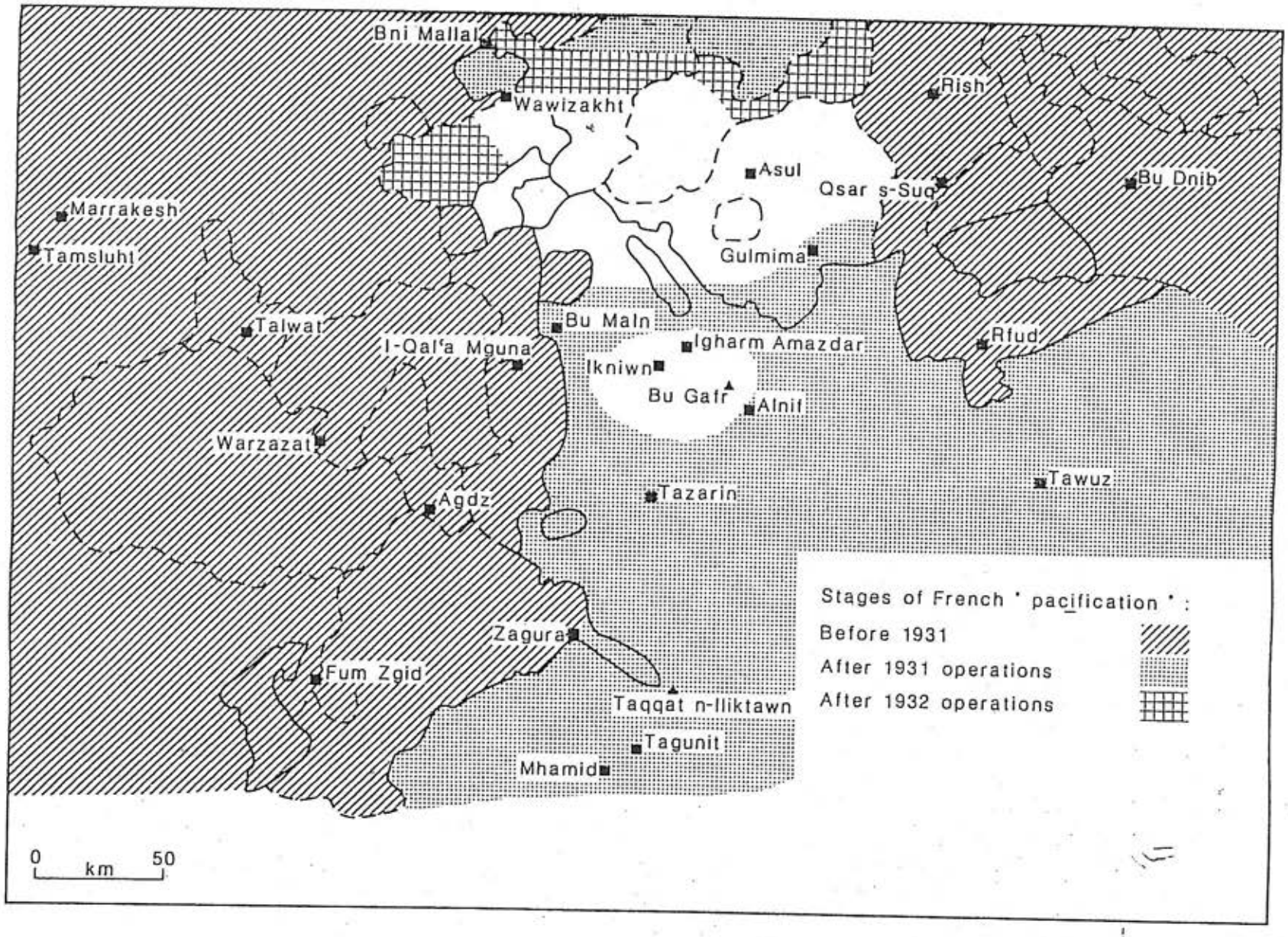
The year 1932 began well for the French. On January 10 all the 'Atta ajmu's of the Tarnata and Fazwata regions submitted officially to General Catroux and Hajj Tahami l-Glawi jointly, an act which inaugurated the new A.I. post of Zagura (37). Now the French assumed full control of operations and their Glawa partisans receded into the background. Hajj Tahami's visit to Zagura was thus largely symbolic, but he did not relinquish any claims over the area, and began to exercise them once again in 1934.

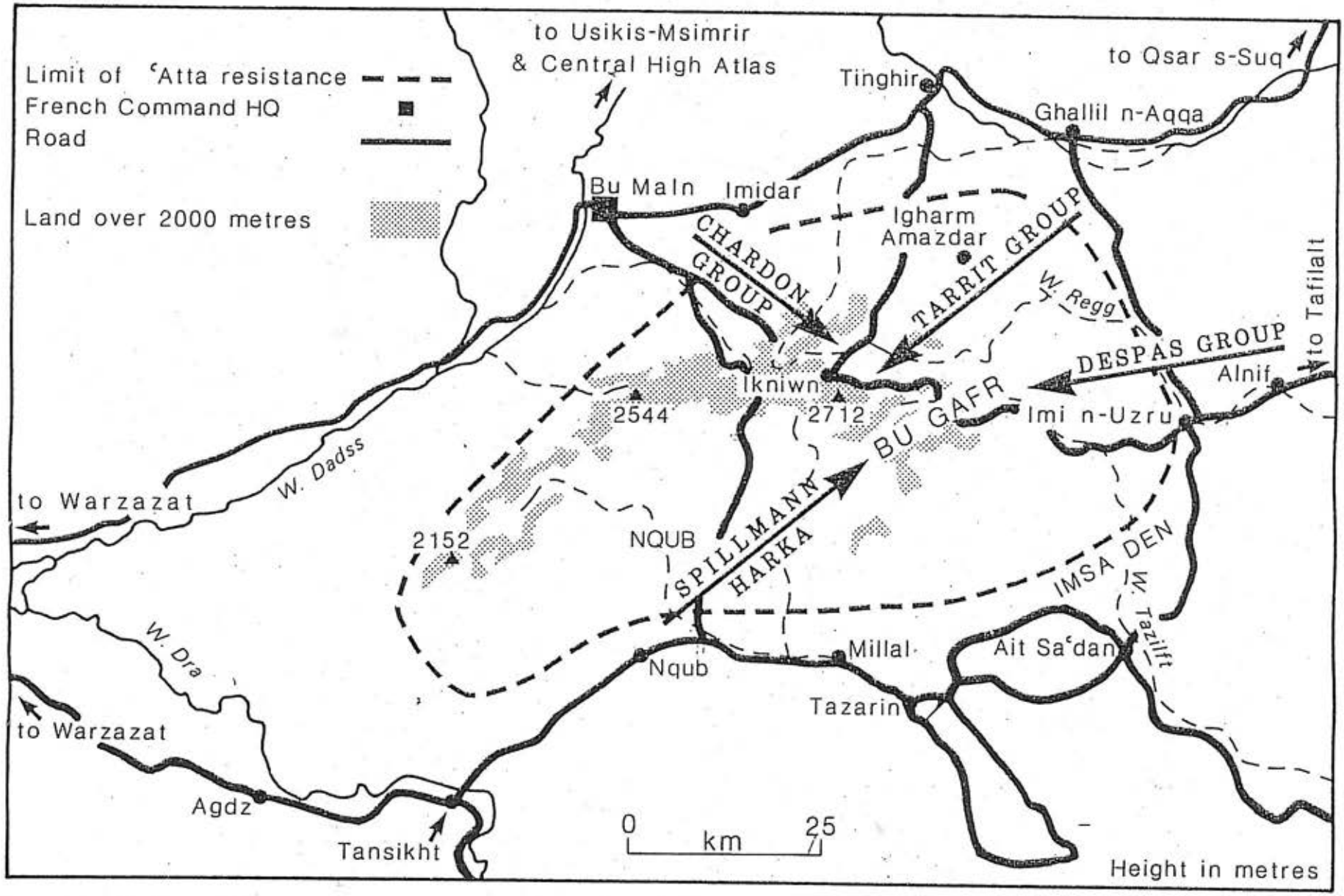
The French advance to Zagura disconcerted Bil-Qasim Ngadi, who had moved west to the Dra, just ahead of the French column which occupied the Tafilalt five days after the Zagura post was created. As Bil-Qasim was rejected by the Ait Isful, he appealed once again to the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Hammu, now camped near the Mhamid. From here their 500 warriors kept harassing the Ait Isful whom Spillmann had armed and even attacked the goum camp at Askjur, 30 kilometres southwest of Zagura.

The Ait Isful, after denouncing the Ait Hassu, the Ait Khabbash and Muhammad u-Bani, the Ait Khabbash war chief, asked the French for aid, particularly as the Ait Hassu were playing a double game. But the French stalled, until some 35 Bni Mhammad warriors, protegés of the Ait Khabbash, abandoned Bil-Qasim Ngadi, who now had only the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Hammu still behind him. As a result, on the night of June 11-12, Spillmann with three goums and 300 Ait Isful partisans occupied Fum Anagam (Tm. Imi n-Unagam, "the mouth of the donkey") (38) in the Bani - the point giving access to the Ktawa from the West - and the construction of a piste began.

On August 11, however, a force of 30 Ait Khabbash and Ait Hassu killed six mkhaznis and took their rifles. Muhammad u-Bani even sent Spillmann a letter, inviting him to a duel: "God will judge between us, Christian dog!" Spillmann, however, arrested Muhammad u-l-Husain, the amghar of the Ait Hassu, before replying to Muhammad u-Bani's letter and predicting that he would die very soon. Indeed on October 6 Muhammad u-Bani was killed in an ambush near the qsar of Bni Sbih in the Ktawa.

The Ait Khabbash still in the Dra area were forced back again into the Mhamid where they were stiffened with fellow clansmen from the east. After heavy fighting they drove the Ait 'Alwan out of the qsar of Bunu, set siege to Ulad Dris and compelled the 'Arib to surrender to them (39). However, on November 13, French goums chased the Ait Khabbash out of Bunu for good, and two days later came the submission of all the Ktawa and the Mhamid - about 23,500 souls (4,700 nuclear families). Since January 1, 1931, a total of 106,000 submissions had been obtained in the whole Dra region, once the A.I. post had been created


Bni Mallal
Wawizakht
Rish
Asul
Qsar s-Suq
Bu Dnib
Marrakesh
Tamsluht
Gulmima
Talwat
Bu Maln
I-Qal'a Mguna
Igharm Amazdar
Rfud
Ikniwn
Bu Gafr
Alnif
Warzazat
Tawuz
Tazarin
Agdz
Zagura
Fum Zgid
Taqqat n-Iliktawn
Tagunit
Mhamid
Stages of French ' pacification ' :
Before 1931
After 1931 operations
After 1932 operations
0
km
50


Limit of ʿAtta resistance
French Command HQ
Road
Land over 2000 metres
to Usikis-Msimrir
& Central High Atlas
to Qsar s-Suq
Tinghir
Ghallil n-Aqqa
Bu Maln
Imidar
Igharm
Amazdar
CHARDON GROUP
TARRIT GROUP
W. Regg
DESPAS GROUP
to Tafilalt
Alnif
Ikniwn
2544
2712
Imi n-Uzru
BU GAFR
W. Dadss
to Warzazat
2152
NQUB
SPILLMANN
HARKA
IMSA DEN
W. Tazilft
W. Dra
Millal
Ait Saʿdan
Nqub
Tazarin
to Warzazat
Agdz
Tansikht
0
km
25
Height in metres

at Agdz. North of the Dra, too, the Tazarin and the Taghbalt on the south slope of the Saghru, were occupied by the French late in November 1932, without loss. At the end of May 1932, the Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast, in the Central Atlas, surrendered without fighting, as the French had promised to respect their izirf (40).

The Ait Khabbash, the Ait Hammu and Bil-Qasim Ngadi, who had escaped from Bunu in the Mhamid, now lost 800 sheep to a French patrol, while French supporters from Fum Zgid relieved them of 430 camels. Their tenacity was incredible, however, for they regrouped in the Lower Dra Valley and, together with the Ait Ussa of Takna, they fought on, withdrawing to the West. A column under Colonel Trinquet pursued them relentlessly; and 120 kilometres south of Assa the Ait Ussa finally surrendered with a ta'rgiba sacrifice to Generals Giraud and Huré on March 10, 1934. The Ait Hammu fled south and the Ait Khabbash fled west, but, by the next day, overcome by fatigue and thirst, they realised that further resistance was useless, and, led by Bil-Qasim Ngadi himself, they came in to surrender.

Between them the Ait Ussa, the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Hammu turned over 3,000 repeating rifles. The most amazing feature of all is that when they finally gave up and surrendered, a full year after all the other 'Atta groups had done so, they were at least 600 kilometres from home. They had performed a truly epic "Long March".

In the Tazarin-Taghbalt region, the Ait Slillu (Ait Unir) and Ait Uzzin (Ait Wallal) of Nqub, the former under Bassu u-Mimun, were fully on the French side, but the Ait Hassu lineages of the Ait Wahlim there were just as uncertain as their fellow clansmen had been in the Dra. They played both with the French and with the dissidents, with a marked preference for the latter (41). Hammu u-Lahsin n-bin Murghi of the Ait Bu Dawud only replied evasively to Spillmann's letters, even though he and 1,500 families had already surrendered to the occupying column of General Catroux on November 29. He obviously wanted to continue active resistance, but there were other constraints placed upon him. At least a hundred Ait Hassu (Ait Wahlim), Ait Y'azza and even Ait Wallal families escaped to the Saghru, where their possessions were already in safekeeping. Once there, they swelled the ranks of hard-core 'Atta resistants who were already grouped around the Bu Gafr massif in the Saghru heartland, and who, under 'Assu u-Ba Slam, the last great amghar, were fully prepared to resist the French to the bitter end (42).

5.5 1933, The End of 'Atta Resistance

As 1932 came to an end, people who had no intention

of surrendering to the French filtered into the Saghru from all over 'Attaland. By the beginning of 1933 nearly a thousand resistants were concentrated there (43), with all the "fifths" and clans represented, although the core clans were the Ilimshan and the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim.

The year 1933 was destined to be the most heroic in Ait 'Atta history and started out with a bang. On January 20, a squadron of French Spahis from Mallal was nearly annihilated by 300 Saghru resistants. Only the intervention of the Ait Slillu and the Ait Wallal, who had been won over to the French cause a year earlier, saved the spahis, although five spahis and ten partisans were killed.

The French authorities now decided to take on the assault of the 'Atta heartland without further delay. Through the mediating offices of the sharif Shaikh Bil-Fatmi of Rbat n-Tinzulin in the Dra, Spillmann, a key figure on the French side, convoked u-Ma'rir, the leader of the Ait Unir resistants in the Saghru, because the Ait Unir of Nqub and of the Dra were already in the French partisan harka. However, u-Ma'rir wanted six months' delay, and suggested that the leaders of the resistance, the brothers 'Assu and Bassu u-Ba Slam, be approached through the Ilimshan of the Tudgha, at the igharm of Taghya n-Ilimshan, a few of whom had now submitted, and from whence the brothers originated. In no case, u-Ma'rir added, would any of them tolerate control by the Glawi.

Spillmann replied that in twelve days time a harka of 1,400 men plus Ait 'Atta goums and partisans was going to invade the Saghru and there was no question of any six-month grace period. U-Marir retorted that he and all the other resistants in the Saghru would then fight to the very end, and that once in the Saghru, the French would discover three enemies - asimmid (intense cold), izran (rocks) and nhas ("copper", ie. bullets) (44). This was also, we might add, a very faithful reflection of the sentiments of the resistants' overall leader, 'Assu u-Ba Slam himself.

5.5.1 'Assu u-Ba Slam

It is appropriate here to review what is known - unfortunately, all too little - of the career of this most remarkable man, the driving force behind 'Atta resistance in the Tinghir area and in the Saghru. Born about 1890 in the igharm of Taghya n-Ilimshan, about 20 kilometres southeast of Tinghir on the northeastern ridge of the Saghru, 'Aisa (of which "'Assu" is a diminutive) u-Ba Slam was thus about forty years old, and in his prime, at the fateful time of Bu Gafr.

His father, 'Ali u-Ba Slam, of the Ait Bu Tghuratin segment of the Ait Tzukinnit lineage of the Ilimshan clan,

was the local amghar n-tmazirt of his clan and had acted as protector of Mulay al-Hasan I on his final Tafilalt expedition. The grandfather, Ba Slam n-Ait Bu Tghuratin, had married a woman of the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, while his only son 'Ali went further afield into another "fifth" and married 'Aisha Hammu, of the Ait Isful of Tabsbast. By her he had five children, first two daughters, one who married into the Ait Y'azza at Taghzut while the second reverted to the Ait Isful of Tabsbast, and three sons, now all deceased; Hajj 'Assu himself, Hajj Bassu, who died about 1965, and Brahim, known as Baha, who was killed at Bu Gafr.

Hence 'Assu u-Ba Slam himself was properly and actually 'Assu w-'Ali n-Ait Ba Slam, although he is always known to the Ait 'Atta simply and socially as 'Assu u-Ba Slam or, after 1956, as Hajj 'Assu. He had three wives, the last of whom produced only one son, Brahim, who was killed at Bu Gafr, so that only the lines from his first two wives have survived. The first wife 'Aisha Muha, also from the Ait Isful of Tabsbast, left him two sons, Yusif u-l-Hajj and Muhand u-l-Hajj, and two daughters. Hajj 'Assu's second wife, Khaddju Haddu of the Ignawen of Tin-Iwurkan in the Saghru and still alive in 1975, is the mother of Qaid 'Ali u-l-Hajj, the eldest and most important member of the lineage, and of Fadma, a daughter who died at Bu Gafr, killed while carrying water when only thirteen years old.

'Assu u-Ba Slam's father and grandfather (probably not too long settled in Taghya n-Ilimshan) had both been transhumants, going up to the Agudal n-Ilimshan every spring with their tents and sheep - but 'Ali u-Ba Slam became a wealthy transhumant as well as the clan amghar and the protector of Mulay al-Hasan I, for the Ilimshan had by now already made a name for themselves because of their prowess in war. 'Ali's son 'Assu, was a serious child with a commanding air, a youth who soon gained the respect of his peers because of his ability as a fighter. He was to become well enough off, through commerce, always an honourable occupation in Islam, so that he did not have to go on transhumance and so as to be able to expand the family holdings in Taghya n-Ilimshan through purchase or acquisition by other means of more land. At least one part of 'Assu u-Ba Slam's commercial activity was directed towards the purchase of contraband firearms. His brother Bassu used to bring them in regularly, via mule caravans, from Marrakesh, often under the very noses of the French and of their Glawa supporters. The guns were smuggled in in sacks of henna and the cartridges brought in, in sacks of tea.

'Assu u-Ba Slam had already become the amghar n-tmazirt of Taghya n-Ilimshan in succession to his father, before 1919, when the French sent the Glawi into the region.

He was wounded in the thigh in a battle with Glawa forces which took place at Taghya itself and his lifelong hatred of the Glawi was exceeded only by his lifelong hatred for the latter's major henchman in 'Attaland - none other than Muhaddash u-l-Hajj Faska of the Ait Bu iknifen of Imidar. 'Assu's conflict with Muhadasha evidently antedated the arrival of the Glawi, but the latter event sparked off the latent hostility. "They had different ideas about absolutely everything", Qaid 'Ali recalled, "and Muhaddash was a 'politician', while my father was not".

Palms were greased heavily by the Glawi faction, and money now changed hands since warfare was clearly not going to achieve French aims. 'Assu u-Ba Slam, however, wanted none of this, and was determined to resist. Hence when the French arrived at Tizi n-Taddat, well to the west of 'Attaland near Skura, Basu u-Ba Slam attacked them, killed eighteen, including the Captain, and took eighteen horses and eighteen tsa'iya carbines - French Lebel 1886 model repeating rifles - back to Taghya n-Ilimshan. Both French and Glawa supporters were among the dead and Bassu u-Ba Slam and the Ilimshan were aided by the dissident Ait 'Hammu of the Ait Saghrushshn of Talsint, who had joined the Ait Khabbash and other 'Atta groups which were prepared to resist to the end.

5.5.2 Bu Gafr, The Final Battle

The French advance was characterised by Lyautey's notion of "peaceful penetration", cf winning over the "big men" (ikhataren) community by community. Paramount among those who cooperated with them was the Glawi. In the great majority of 'Atta clan communities there were a few men who were prepared to resist, and they trickled in to join 'Assu u-Ba Slam at Taghya n-Ilimshan, which became the rallying point for the resistants, during 1930 and 1931. Although Taghya is not far from other 'Atta communities, such as the three Ait Bu Iknifen ones of Ashiddad, Waklim and Aman Uqidar, it was the only one whose inhabitants were prepared to resist the French and the Glawa. Muhaddash had clearly managed to buy off his fellow clansmen in these three localities and other 'Atta clan chiefs who submitted were Bassu u-Mimun of the Ait Slillu of Nqub, Hammu u-Lahsin u-bin Murghi of the Ait Bu Dawud of Tazarin, Yidir u-Sa'id Amsuffi of the Imsuffa of Zagura, and 'Addi u-Khiya of the Ait Isful of Tabsbast.

Once the Ait 'Atta resistants had rallied at Taghya n-Ilimshan, they moved south into the 'Atta heartland of the Saghru. 'Assu u-Ba Slam had already decided that the jagged, inhospitable and treeless fastness of the Adrar n-Bu Gafr massif, "The Mountain of Wasteland", would provide maximum protection for his men and would enable them to

inflict maximum casualties on the French and their partisans, now swelled by those Ait 'Atta groups which had been won over.

'Assu u-Ba Slam's reputation for toughness, directness and truthfulness was already known to the French, and according to Qaid 'Ali, the three French generals in charge of the final "reduction" of the Saghru - Catroux, Giraud and Huré - contacted him at the beginning of 1933. They offered him a last reprieve by telling him that although he was leading the Ait 'Atta to ruin, they would still like to do for him whatever he wanted. He turned the offer down.

'Assu u-Ba Slam, already the symbol of 'Atta resistance, was not the only heroic figure involved in the Battle of Bu Gafr. He had a French counterpart, Captain Henri de Lespinasse de Bournazel, known as "l'Homme Rouge" because of the dashing red silham he wore, who had been instrumental in the French occupation of Tafilalt and who had already achieved a semi-legendary status there. 'Assu u-Ba Slam knew of him and respected his reputation, but was never to meet him, for Bournazel was destined to die at Bu Gafr, on February 28, 1933.

On February 21, 1933, the Adrar n-Bu Gafr was invested simultaneously by two French forces advancing from the west and the east under General Catroux and under General Giraud respectively. Both groups consisted of strong harkas of submitted tribesmen stiffened up with Berber goum units (45).

The first group, from the west, was made up of the Tudgha harka with 1,000 Glawa and Ait Wawzgit partisans and the 32nd goums, the Dadss harka with 1,200 Imghran, Imgunn and Ait Siddrat partisans, and the 14th and 39th goums. The reserve harka, 800 partisans, the Marrakesh militia and the 34th goums, and the Dra harka with 1,400 Dra and Tazarin partisans, and the 10th and 49th goums.

Of the 1,400 Dra partisans, no less than 650 were southern 'Atta, and of these, 245 were members of clans from the Ktawa and the Tazarin which had only submitted less than three months earlier. They included members of the Ait Hassu, the Ilimshan and the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim and most of them had close kinsmen among the ranks of the Bu Gafr resistants. Although the Ait Slillu, the Ait Uzzin, the Ait Unir of the Dra, the Ait Isful and the Ait Bu Iknifen gave excellent accounts of themselves, on several occasions during the battle the Ait Hassu, for instance, after identifying clan brethren in the resistance, replaced the bullets in their cartridges with pieces of paper. This angered General Catroux, but it could hardly have been castigated in individuals who knew very well that they were fighting their own clansmen, and perhaps even their own agnates (46).

The second group, from the east, was far more mixed,

and contained far fewer Ait 'Atta partisans, for the hostility of the Ait Y'azza and the Ait Unibgi, and most especially of the Ait Khabbash was proverbial. There were 800 Tudgha partisans and the 36th goums, both from Marrakesh, two mounted companies and one mechanised company from different Foreign Legion regiments, two squadrons of Algerian spahis, the 7th, 16th 28th and 33rd Moroccan goums, a Saharan company from the Ziz, and 500 further partisans. The operation was supported by four squadrons of aircraft, a number which would tally, approximately, with Qaid Ali's observation that 44 French planes from Warzazat had not only bombed Taghya n-Ilimshan but were to rain further bombs on Bu Gafr.

Of interest are French calculations on the size and strength of the 'Atta resistants. To an estimated 300 nuclear families (takatin) of the Ait Wahlim "fifth" (Ilimshan, Ait Hassu, Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim) who lived permanently in the Central Saghru, there were now joined some 200 further nuclear families of dissident Ilimshan, Ait l-Firsi, Ikhukhuden, Ait Bu Iknifen, Ignawen, Ait Yihya u-Musa, Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, and Ait Hassu, who came from the Tudgha, the Taghbalt and the Tazarin. There were also some 300 nuclear families of dissident Ait Y'azza, Ait Khabbash and Ait Umnasf, who had been chased out of the Ugnat massif and the basin of the Ragg by French troops. These 800 nuclear families could provide nearly a thousand warriors, all well armed and fully provided with ammunition (47).

This estimate, in view of Qaid Ali's casualty figures is somewhat conservative, and the Qaid believes that a full 1,200 'Atta warriors took part in the defence of Bu Gafr. Except for the Ait 'Alwan, all the 'Atta clans were represented there, even the small and impoverished Ait l-Firsi, with the core group consisting of the Ilimshan, the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, the Ait Hassu, the Ait Y'azza, the Ait Khalifa, the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Umnasf, in that order of precedence.

The first French assault wave on Bu Gafr took place on February 21, and was followed by three more waves, on February 24, 25 and 28. In the first assault, Lt. Col Chardon, who commanded a large goum unit, was wounded; and in the last one, Capt. de Bournazel was killed, by a simultaneous bullet in the side and a stone in the head. Bournazel was one of six French officers from the east group, under Giraud, who died, while four from the west group under Catroux, were killed (48). This tally of French officers killed might seem conservative in view of the figures proposed by Qaid 'Ali - 3,500 casualties on the French side, for the most part of French Moroccan troops, partisans and other 'Atta, and 1,300 casualties among the 'Atta defenders of Bu Gafr.

The low casualty figures for French officers at Bu Gafr

is explained by the fact that, because the French objective was to conquer the Ait 'Atta by using their own fellow tribesmen against them, the officers would assemble groups of twenty to thirty goums or harkawi-s to scale the Bu Gafr cliffs, with an officer behind them. When they came within rifle range, the Ait 'Atta above would open fire, killing the majority, although the French officer behind them would escape. Bournazel, in his highly visible scarlet cape, was the great exception, until his death.

Although there was no snow on the Adrar n-Bu Gafr during the battle, the cold was fearful and the region is almost waterless. The French came prepared with an adequate water supply, but the resistants had to send their women out at night to get water. Many were shot by the French, including Qaid 'Ali's full sister Fadma, aged only thirteen. The women and children, however, were as active front-line combatants as the men, keeping the rifles loaded and often even firing them. When the French occupied virtually the only spring in the area, a woman volunteered immediately to get water - and the French troops were so amazed at her climbing down the rocks that nobody fired a shot. Every available weapon was utilised and not a few French casualties were caused by deadly accurate volleys of rocks or boulders pushed over the mountain wall.

Once French regular troops were brought in to shore up the pro-French partisans for the final assault on Bu Gafr on March 1, the resistants were submitted to a non-stop artillery barrage and air bombardment, while General Huré coordinated the operations of the Catroux and Giraud army groups. Spillmann did not disguise his pangs of conscience over the massacre of these Ait 'Atta warriors together with their women, children and flocks. However, it was exceedingly difficult to stop the massacre, for, as he notes, the enraged resistants killed the emissaries the French sent, including a mrabit (49).

Ultimately, however, it was not the French who conquered the resistants at Bu Gafr but rather their own fellow tribesmen who had already submitted. It was they, Qaid 'Ali pointed out, who suggested to the French field commanders that the surest way to bring about surrender was to let the resistants exhaust their ammunition. This, in effect, is just what happened, and, finally, on March 10, the plan began to work. Nearly 150 Ait Unibgi and Ait Y'azza families announced that they wanted to spend the night in Spillmann's camp in order to surrender to General Giraud (50).

Many of them were wounded and those who were the most critical cases were treated by a French army doctor. The most significant part of this surrender seems to have been that those involved told Spillmann that the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim had just elected someone of the u-Ghzis lineage as chief. However, since a man of this lineage would be

chosen only to save the clan from annihilation and all the u-Ghzis adults had been killed, the only male left was a five-year old boy, who had been duly elected. Spillmann then discovered that the new chief had an elder brother and some cousins in the Fazwata, who had not been allowed to participate in the French expedition. Spillmann now sent a telegram to the A.I. officer at Zagura, Lt. Laennec, telling him to come with all the men of the u-Ghzis lineage whom he could collect. Lt. Laennec duly appeared with the men in question and took over from Spillmann, who returned to Zagura and left 'Attaland forever. On March 23, Spillmann's **shawsh** led the u-Ghzis to the advance post, and when night fell, he called out to the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim resistants, who, as usual, insulted him. The brother of the child-**amghar** then yelled out, and after an hour of oratorical jousting, the kinsmen of the child-**amghar**, unarmed and accompanied by the **shawsh**, found themselves between the lines with a number of still hostile resistants. Eventually, the Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim present consented to surrender to Laennec, who took charge of them at once. The next night a hundred more Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim warriors came down to surrender. In effect Spillmann observes, the prophecy was exact - thanks to the u-Ghzis, they and their families were saved.

This was the end, for, demoralised by this third défection, 'Assu and Bassu u-Ba Slam, together with their Ilimshan, finally decided to negotiate. On March 25, led by 'Assu u-Ba Slam, they laid down their arms in surrender in front of Generals Huré, Catroux and Giraud (51). Altogether, the last defenders of Bu Gafr totalled 490 nuclear families, consisting of 2,900 individuals armed with 195 repeating rifles (mostly French 1886 Model Lebels) and with 174 single-shot rifles (French 1874 Model Gras carbines) (52).

The surrender terms were, according to General Huré (53), as follows:-

> Because of the splendid resistance which the warriors of 'Assu u-Ba Slam had mounted against us, these conditions were exceptionally generous:
>
> 1. submission to the **Makhzan** (ie., in the name of France;
> 2. inventory of the arms of the dissidents, who would keep them in their possession;
> 3. no war fines;
> 4. complete amnesty for all acts prior to submission; and
> 5. in addition, a promise that the **makhzan** (ie. the Protectorate) would impose no corvées over and above normal taxes and that there would be no levying of partisans for a year.
>
> These exceptionally mild conditions were equivalent

> to what in a European war would have been war honours: the warriors of 'Assu u-Ba Slam certainly merited them.

The general also commented on the actual numbers of resistants as follows:-

> In talking with the Ait 'Atta who had just surrendered, we learned the size of the force we had been up against, and it was much more considerable than we supposed. The number of resistants who had taken refuge in the Saghru was about 7,000 and of these nearly 1,000 were warriors. Nearly 3,000 persons submitted with 'Assu u-Ba Slam, and of these some 500 were armed men. This brought the number of submissions since the beginning of operations up to 4,700. The losses of the defenders of Bu Gafr had thus been over 2,000 killed, of whom 500 were armed men. As for livestock, of the 25,000 head which the Ait 'Atta resistants had had at the begnning of February, there were as of March 24 no more than 2,500 at Bu Gafr; the rest (no less than 90 per cent) had died of thirst, had been killed by artillery or aviation or had been raided by our partisans.

The hardest single battle which the French had ever had to fight in the course of their "pacification" of Morocco was over. Later a plaque was put up at Bu Gafr (now removed) which read:-

> A la Mémoire des Officiers, Sous-Officiers, Caporaux, Soldats, Goumiers et Partisans des Groupes Mobiles du Confins de Marraksch Tombés Glorieusement Dans les Durs Combats du Djebel Sagho".

The Ait 'Atta resistants, fighting the invader of their homeland had fallen, however, even more gloriously on the battlefield of honour.

5.6 French Administration Takes Root

Shortly after the victory General Huré recalls that:-

> .... Capt. Paulin, who had taken an active part in the operations and who was in charge of the 'bureau' upon which the Ilimshan depended (administratively), asked me to appoint 'Assu u-Ba Slam as clan shaikh. I consented to do so, and never once regretted my decision. Indeed, during the operations of 1934, 'Assu u-Ba Slam came to the French authorities to put

an Ait 'Atta contingent at their disposal, even though by the terms of surrender the Ait 'Atta (of the Saghru) were dispensed with having to furnish any partisans to the Makhzan. Hence the offer was declined as what had been promised was kept. But 'Assu u-Ba Slam's attitude was noted with significant approval.

The submission of the Ait 'Atta besieged in the Saghru had an enormous repercussion all through the Atlas. All the tribes which had not yet surrendered and even some of those which had done so recently had had their eyes riveted on Bu Gafr and were awaiting only the success of 'Assu u-Ba Slam in order to raise the flag of revolt. The turn which events took, so different from what the Berbers in the Central Atlas had been expecting, started a small ripple of submissions. In the next two months, 520 nuclear families belonging to the Ait Usikis, the Ait Husain and the Ait Msimrir in the mountains came to us to surrender. This was the beginning of the collapse on the southern slope of the Central Atlas. Once military operations were terminated, we started to organise the region and to construct tracks to and from Bu Gafr, while three military posts and a goum post were set up at vital points in the Saghru.

The resistance in the Central Atlas was over by the end of the summer of 1933, when the Ait 'Abdi of the Kusar Plateau surrendered and the Ait 'Aisa Izim (Ait Murghad) of u-Skunti did the same on the Baddu massif at the end of August. Bil-Qasim Ngadi, with the Ait Khabbash and the Ait Hammu (Ait Saghrushshn) who had fled to the Lower Dra did not surrender until March 1934, while another group of some 30 Ait Khabbash, continued to commit "acts of brigandage" in the Kamkam until July 1935.

This left only one resistant in the area, a man named Zaid u-Hmad, who like u-Skunti, was of the Ait 'Aisa Izim clan of the Ait Murghad. He had fought with the 'Atta at Bu Gafr, and had active support from his own clan and tacit support from a few 'Atta elements who had never really surrendered. he conducted a legendary one-man war against the French for three more years, until he was surprised and killed by partisans at the Ignawen igharm of Tadafalt, in the Lower Tudgha near Tinghir, on March 5, 1936 (55).

Although Zaid u-Hmad and 'Assu u-Ba Slam have streets named after them in post-Independence Casablanca, they were evidently not the same kind of man. Zaid was, in many respects no more than a bandit, like w-'Abbu and u-Khuya (cf. Dadda 'Atta and His Forty Grandsons, p.196), while 'Assu u-Ba Slam was a tribal patriot and a resistance leader of classic and heroic proportions. He was now

to prove as remarkable a man in peace as he had been in war.

5.7 The Protectorate (1933-1956) and Independence

'Assu u-Ba Slam had imposed two fundamental conditions of his own during the surrender negotiation and had they not been met, he would have continued to fight. They were a guarantee from the French that the Glawi's authority would never extend to 'Attaland, or at least to the Saghru, and a further guarantee that 'Atta Customary Law would be integrally respected and upheld. The French agreed immediately to both conditions and the Glawi's reactions are not recorded but they could not have been happy.

A third condition was also proposed. It surprised the French who nevertheless agreed. it was that there be no singing and dancing performed by the Ait 'Atta women of the Saghru except during marriage ceremonials. Men, said 'Assu u-Ba Slam, were free to dance and sing at any time they wanted, but he held it improper for women to do so. The reason for this was that, although the Ait 'Atta in general tend to stay away from Muslim religious orders, 'Assu u-Ba Slam himself was a member of the Darqawa, the strictest and most uncompromising order in Morocco. On his death he passed on his tsbih, his rosary, to his son Qaid 'Ali. To this day the latter does not allow any of the women of his household to sing or dance, and no allun tambourines are permitted on the premises. This is why Ist-'Atta depending on all other posts except Ikniwn may dance, and it also explains 'Assu u-Ba Slam's extreme piety, which he was to reinforce in 1956 by making the pilgrimage to Mecca.

But, pious and devout a Muslim as 'Assu u-Ba Slam was, he had no time for the application of the Shari'a in 'Atta-land. To be more precise, he had no time for those facets of it which were patently not in harmony with 'Atta Custom. After Independence, 'Assu u-Ba Slam was to oppose the Qur'anic notion of witnesses, which he held that the Ait 'Atta would never understand, because if anyone has the intention of robbing a house or having illicit sexual intercourse, he naturally does so alone - so where would witnesses be available? In 1957-1958, he took the issue up to the highest levels in the Ministry of Justice in Rabat, but never obtained satisfaction. As a result, he never agreed with the decollectivisation of oaths which went along with the introduction of the Sahri'a. Indeed, as late as 1962 Ikniwn was then the only post in 'Attaland where the izirf still really applied, as in any important matters an accused individual still swore with four agnates, although on minor issues he did so by himself.

Since oaths are the roots of the qa'ida or izirf of the

Ait 'Atta - not only to the 'Atta of the Saghru but to the 'Atta at large - the fact that the French endorsed it was to them the core of protectorate ideology. For this reason, although the Ait 'Atta employ the term isti'mar, "colonialism", readily, they do not necessarily do so pejoratively. They continue to retain a high regard for the French tribal administration in Morocco and for its Afaires indigènes personnel. The perpetuation by the French of the link between all Ait 'Atta and their izirf through the maintenance of the Supreme Court at Igharm Amazdar was what gained them the unstinted cooperation of 'Assu u-Ba Slam.

Indeed, the story of the French protectorate in 'Attaland is as much the story of 'Assu u-Ba Slam as was the Battle of Bu Gafr. General Huré's assertion that he nominated 'Assu u-Ba Slam as shaikh of the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru almost immediately after the surrender at Bu Gafr may be something of an oversimplification, although it is consonant with other information. The Ait 'Atta had already been classified as "Tribes of Custom" (the French saw them as tribes rather than as a single supertribe) by a Sharifian Dahir of 1924. The first experimental customary law tribunal in the Ait 'Atta was among the Ait Unibgi at Awfus in the Rtab in 1934. Others were also set up, but had to wait several years for official administrative sanction - one of them at Ikniwn. Here a Customary Law Tribunal of First Instance was rapidly buttressed by a Customary Law Tribunal of Appeal, which was designed to replace the istinaf of Igharm Amazdar. It is noteworthy that the same members, the same inahkamen or ait l-haqq, sat at the same time in both the Tribunal of First Instance and the Tribunal of Appeal (56).

'Assu u-Ba Slam was recommended at once by the presiding A.I. officer as a member of this Tribunal of Appeal and it was this official post which permitted 'Assu to consolidate his ascendancy over the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru before he was called on in February 1939 - the new courthouse at Igharm Amazdar having been built the preceding year - to become acting qaid, a post which he was to hold until his death twenty-one years later. His official title was amghar n-ufilla of the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru, and effectively his power was exactly as it had been prior to the "pacification", only now he had been appointed by the French rather than being elected by rotation and complementarity by his fellow tribesmen, and he coordinated with the French tribal administration officer of the Affaires Indigènes post at Ikniwn.

Capt. de Monts de Savasse, who knew 'Assu u-Ba Slam well, refers to him as a man of great character and integrity, honest, straightforward, very religious, and very mystical, also very authoritarian, a man who did his level best to be just. 'Assu u-Ba Slam was, he felt, a "natural leader", who held the 'Atta of the Saghru in the palm of

his hand and retained the respect of almost all his fellow tribesmen outside the tribal heartland (57). Nonetheless, he still retained his Ilimshan identity, being very careful to ensure that no rival emerged in his clan of origin. In the 1940s, he suppressed the permanent amghar of the Ilimshan, installed by the French ten years earlier, and replaced him with one annually elected by the ajmu' in accordance with rotation, complementarity and Custom - for it was on Custom that 'Assu u-Ba Slam based his action.

'Assu's authority had long been unquestioned and now his control over the Ait 'Atta in his bailiwick was uncontested. He raised an eyebrow when requested by the French not to participate in the Supreme Court once he had been awarded the plum of top amghar-ship for the region; but he let the individual clan councils keep functioning with full freedom. In any case his own fortune and prestige gave him a preponderance that was both discreet and uncontested and Custom, izirf, was the final arbiter of all his verdicts and recommendations.

5.7.1 Tribal Organisation after Pacification

After 1927 there were no more top chiefs with responsibility for the whole of the Ait 'Atta, for the khams khmas concept had effectively ceased. Through the piece-meal character of pacification, the Ait 'Atta had become fractionated, and the clan-community was now the highest functioning unit with a purely territorial significance. The loss of the "five fifths" concept as a functioning system was a major factor in the erosion of cohesion of the supertribe as a whole. This fact was tacitly underscored by the general acceptance that, despite his prestige, the top amghar-ship of 'Assu u-Ba Slam extended no further than the limits of the Saghru, the area under the command of the Ikniwn post.

Indeed, another administrative problem arose here, over the anomaly, in administrative terms, of having a permanent qaid at the tribal level with annually rotating shaikhs at clan level. In 'Atta terms, this meant a permanent amghar n-ufilla at a regional level and at clan level, land or clan chiefs who changed every year. Was this a situation with a precedent in Custom and should the French have maintained it? Although such a situation had certainly had a precedent in pre-Protectorate times, for example, among the Iziyyan (or Zayyan) of the Middle Atlas under their despotic qaid Muha u-Hammu, it was equally a very exceptional one in the transhumant region at large and had had no recorded precedent among the Ait 'Atta. Thus it was eventually untenable there, even under French rule.

According to de Monts, the politico-jural structure of

the Ait 'Atta in the Saghru in 1951 included the following items - clan councils actively functioning, even if somewhat in the shadows; no tribal council; clan heads who were either definitive even though nominated at the beginning by the ajmu', or annual and elected by the ajmu' within the framework of the rotation and complementarity principle, with the authority of the French 'bureau' and the agreement of the qaid; a permanent qaid ('Assu u-Ba Slam) designated by the French authorities and appointed by the Région de Marrakech as of 1939; a customary law tribunal, meeting at Ikniwn, with permanent members, two or three per clan, designated by the clan ajmu' concerned; and the court of appeal at Igharm Amazdar,

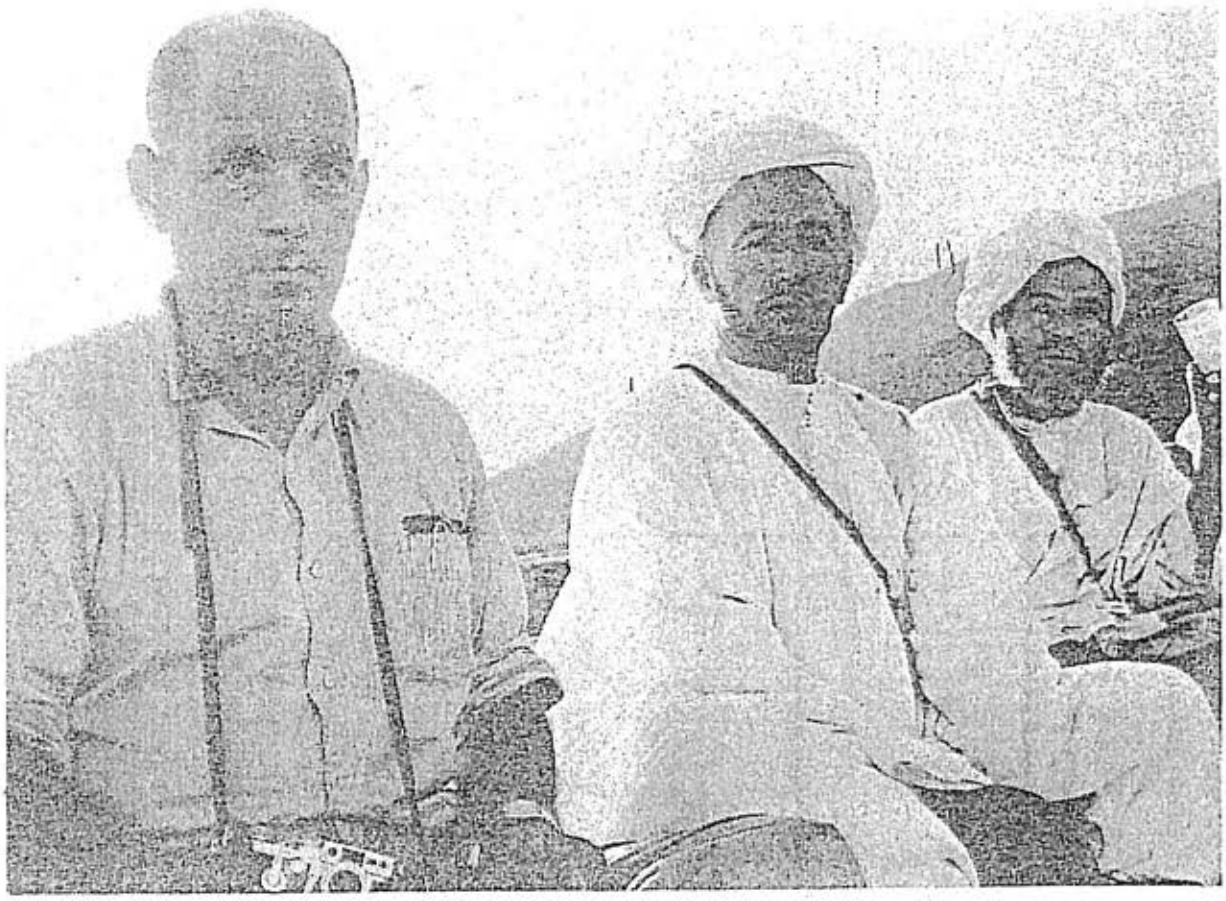
> " ... the members of which were selected according to Custom from among the sedentary Ait 'Atta resident in the Tafrawt n-Ait 'Atta, those who had formerly received the delegation of the whole supertribe in order to fulfil this major jural mission" (58).

De Monts foresaw with exemplary clarity the likely future of tribal authority and the clan council among the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru under French control. He argues that the process of rotation and complementarity and the whole system of annually elected clan heads became outdated once French control was effectively established. Conceived in time of siba, its purpose was to defuse the powers of the amghar, his self-enrichment and the fear of his achieving personal power and the predominance of his own clan. There was no further need for it, once the Protectorate was in place.

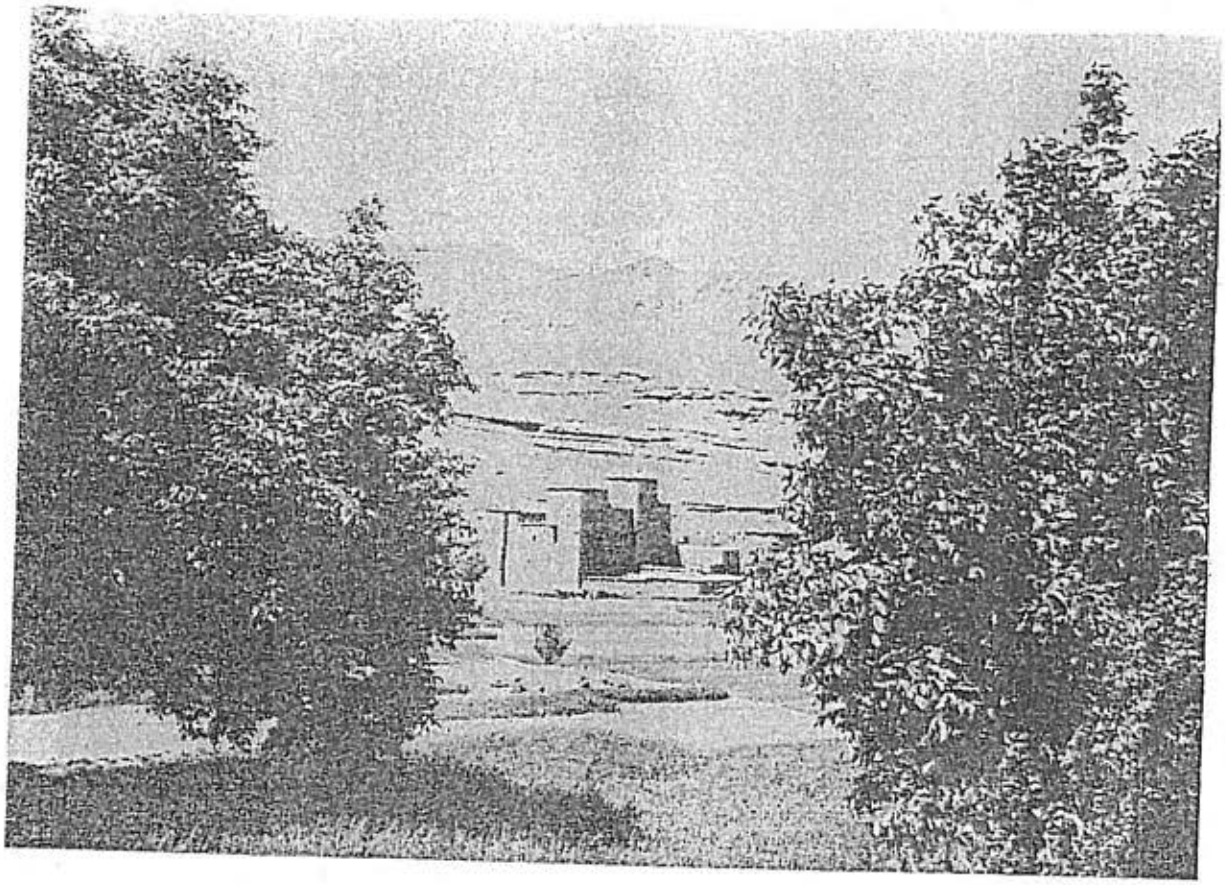
In this 1951 report, however, de Monts did not anticipate that, in less than five years, the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru and elsewhere would be overtaken by the termination of the Protectorate, and hence of French control in Morocco. There is no question but that the 1930 Berber Dahir froze 'Assu u-Ba Slam and the whole of 'Atta customary law in the Saghru into position, despite minor French-induced modifications to it. In fact, 'Assu u-Ba Slam was the first to welcome this consequence, for it underpinned his position as the incontested leader of the 'Atta of the Saghru, even though he was not the amghar n-ufilla n-khams khmas. Outside the Saghru, his hatred for Muhaddash u-l-Hajj Faska of the Ait Bu Iknifen of Imidar continued unabated but his power there was less effective. In such regions the French had to attempt to resolve internal and inter-"bureau" Ait 'Atta problems. These included pasturage issues in the Central Atlas, revolving around the acquisition by the Ihansalen of the Agudal n-Ait Wallal in 1936, and the fruitless efforts to resolve the annual pasturage confrontation at Talmast, between the resident Ait Bu Iknifen and the Southern Ait

Hajj 'Assu u-Ba Slam (Centre),
amghar anfilla of the Ait 'Atta
Hajj Muhaddash u-l-Hajj Faska (Left)
Khalifa to the pasha of Marrakesh, and
Bassu u-Mimun (Right) (Ahl Dadss) 1954

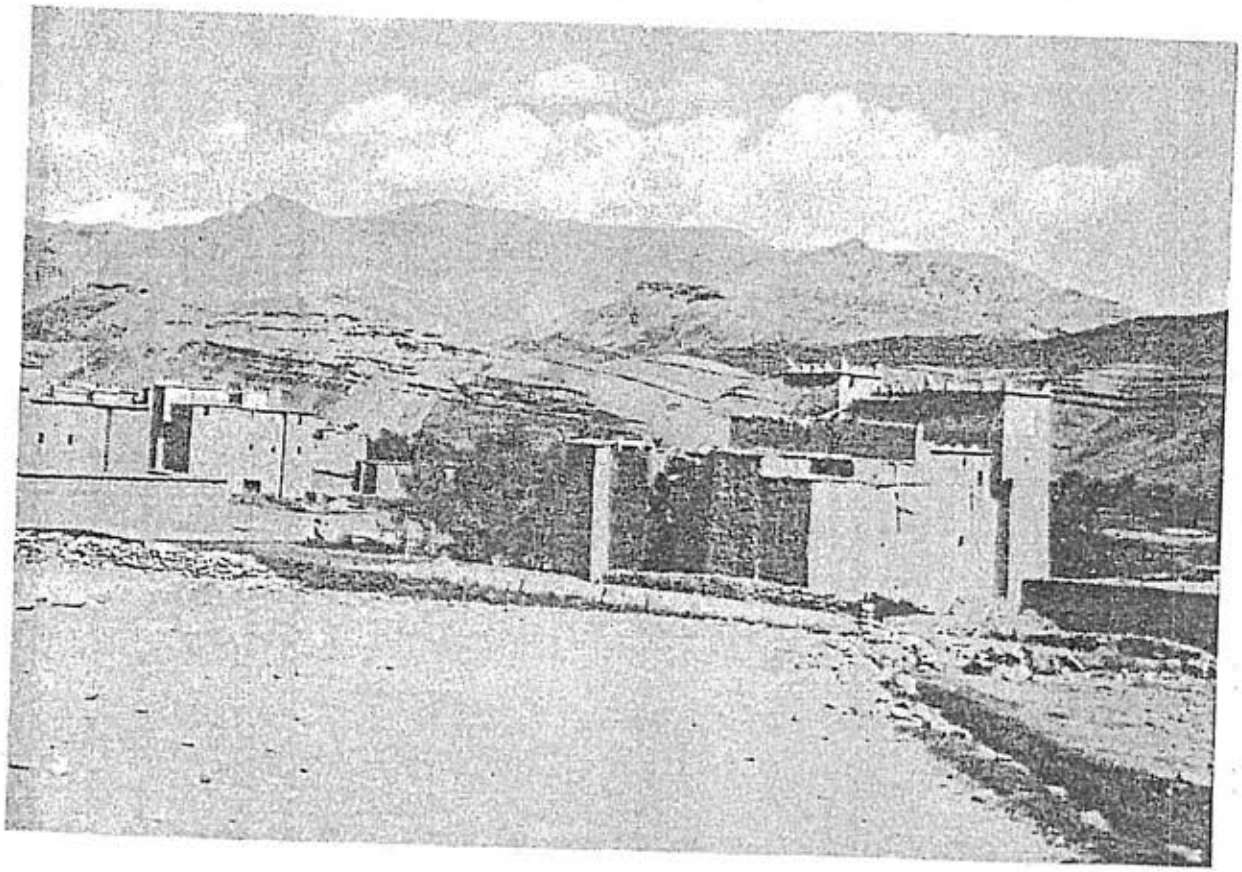
(Photographer Colonel Sanlay, reproduced
by permission of Jacques Géradin)



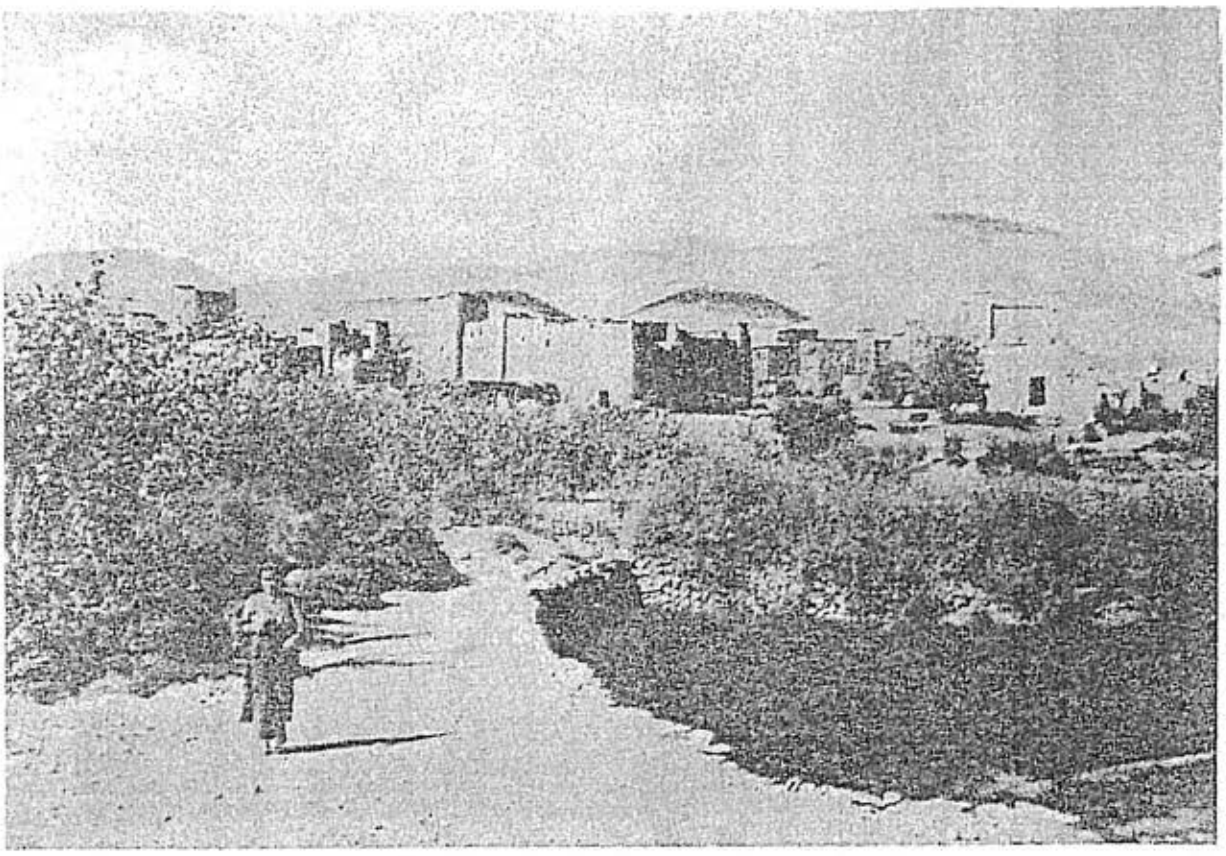
The author with Qaid 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu
u-Ba Slam (Ilimshan) (Ikniwn) 1961



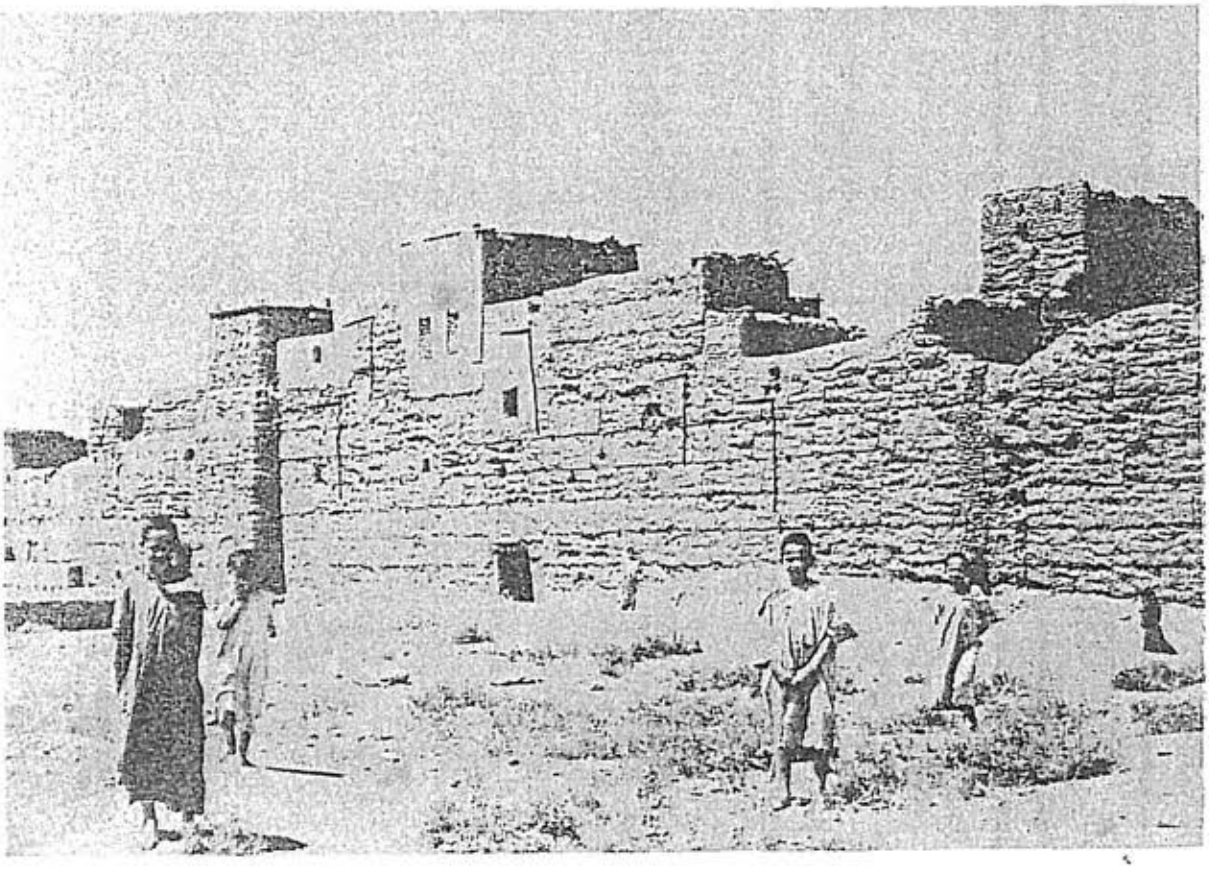
Usikis - Igharm n-Tabudant n-Ait 'Yazza



Usikis - Igharm n-Ait 'Yazza



Usikis - Igharm n-Ait Bu Iknifen at left,
Igharm n-Tabudant in centre and
Igharm n-Tabulment to the right



Ait I-Firsi

Bu Iknifen up on transhumance.

Oaths were taken in 1936 over the nearby pasturage zone of Ddaw Izran, where the Ait Slillu (Ait Unir) of Nqub clashed with the Ait Bu Iknifen, who retired only after an agreement established by the court at Igharm Amazdar gave them advantages in the other zone of Igurdan. The Ddaw Izran litigation opposed the Ait Bu Iknifen and the Ilimshan, as well as 'Assu u-Ba Slam against Muhaddash and the Ihansalen igurramen Sidi Mah and Sidi Amhadar against the Glawa. In 1948 another oath was sworn at the tomb of Sidi Sa'id Ahansal with ten co-jurors from the local Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast, ten from the Ait Bu Iknifen of Msimrir and ten from the Ait Bu Iknifen near Tinghir, which gave the Ait Wahlim khums access to the Ddaw Izran pastureland.

Even though 'Assu u-Ba Slam, with French support, would not tolerate the presence of the Glawi or any of his minions in the Saghru, there was still the problem of Glawa control in other parts of 'Attaland. For instance, in the Dra Valley, from 1932 to 1943, the Ait Isful of the Ktawa had been administered directly by the French, and their chiefs were elected annually according to the standard pattern of rotation and complementarity. On September 25, 1942, the Sultan signed a Dahir appointing Si Brahim, the son of Hajj Tahami l-Glawi, as qaid of the Haratin, the Ait 'Atta and the 'Arib of the Ktawa-Mhamid area. The latter took over his new duties officially at Zagura on February 9, 1943, following a letter from Hajj Tahami himself to the French Colonel of the Warzazat Territory. Hajj Tahami complained that his khalifate in the Ktawa had no occupant, pointing out that the "bureau" and the shaikhs handled everything. It was as if the job did not exist and this situation would have to be changed (60).

One immediate result was that the amghar of the Ait Isful, since 1937, Yusif u-Muhand, had to be demoted from qaid to khalifa. He died conveniently in an accident the following November, and his successor, Salim u-Baha Afrukh was only nominated on March 5, 1944. He was very hostile to the new Glawi khalifa at Tagunit, Si Hammu u-l-Husain, under whose administration all the clan groups in the area had passed, much against their will. The locals wanted local khalifas, not Glawa ones, and they fought as hard as they could to preserve the institution of annually elected chiefs, whereas the khalifa, once his control became effective, always supported the candidate who could pay him the most.

In the end, as of 1947, Qaid Si Brahim only visited the Ktawa once a year, and was represented there by two khalifas, one from the Ait Isful and one from the Glawa, who depended directly on Hajj Tahami himself. The Ait Isful only let their khalifa be imposed upon them because they were confident in the French. The situation was

potentially explosive - Si Brahim always needed a squad of mkhaznis to escort him to his domicile, and the locals only tolerated him because of the French who, in turn, did not feel that they could afford to antagonise Hajj Tahami. Si Brahim was constantly in conflict with them. He felt, for example, that not only should they feed him for nothing but that they should pay for his car, furnish him with all the services he needed, and finally that the local shop-keepers should not present him with their bills.

In the long run, the problems took care of themselves when Independence came in 1956, after the disgrace and death of Hajj Tahami at the end of January of that year and the exile of Si Brahim to France. But other things also went when Independence came, and annually elected chiefs too became a thing of the past.

5.7.2 Nationalism and the Ait 'Atta

Although, in the early 1950s, the chief of the Ait 'Atta n-Umalu resisted French administrative pressure on a point of national policy and was exiled in the south in consequence (61), the contribution of the Ait 'Atta to the modern brand of nationalism which culminated in Moroccan independence was minimal. This casts no reflections on their patriotism, for many of them had served with distinction in the Moroccan Berber goum regiments under the French - in Tunisia, Sicily, Italy, France itself and Germany - in World War II. The real issue is that a tribal society like the Ait 'Atta, riveted to its customary law, seldom produces good nationalists in the modern sense of the word, for nationalism and traditionalism are concepts that are almost antithetical.

The French tried desperately to convince themselves that the rural, tribal Berbers in general would support them against the urban nationalists. The myth of the "good Berber" and the "healthy bled" became necessary articles of faith. Montagne had noted that it was possible for the French to mobilise the Berber tribes against the towns, but he had warned of the dangers of evoking old memories of a state of siba (62). Nonetheless, tribal mobilisation was tried out, apparently successfully, during two French-organised marches on Rabat in February 1951 and April 1953, against Sultan Muhammad bin Yusif before they exiled him to Madagascar. Many Middle Atlas tribesmen took part in these demonstrations, although the majority had little idea what they were all about.

The Ait 'Atta, however, evidently understood the issues at stake. They realised that they would only serve the interests of the Glawi and the French and not their own tribal or wider national interests. Tribesmen in these demonstrations had to be instructed by name to march, and

their qaids and shaikhs were told to bring a definite number of "compulsory volunteers". Exceptions could be purchased and some qaids charged up to 5,000 francs for these. Unfortunately, the reaction of 'Assu u-Ba Slam to the marches has not been recorded but it is virtually certain that he was very much against anything from which the Glawi would stand to benefit. In any case what Montagne had foreseen now happened and many Berbers came to realise that it might be possible to get rid of their own over-greedy qaids (63).

5.7.3 'Assu u-Ba Slam and Independence

Once again, the outstanding exception here was 'Assu u-Ba Slam himself. He may not have been a nationalist in the narrower modern sense but he was certainly a leading resistant and his record spoke for itself (64). During the transfer of power, throughout the summer of 1956 after Independence was declared in the previous March, not only did he retain his position as qaid of Ikniwn, whereas the great majority of traditional tribal qaids were removed - either by the new Moroccan administration or by the Moroccan Army of Liberation - but he helped the last A.I. officer at Ikniwn to take his family and belongings down to Bu Maln and on to Marrakesh before Army of Liberation units appeared.

'Assu u-Ba Slam had no compunctions about voicing his views to the new provincial governors at Warzazat. He was infuriated by the abolition of Customary Law and, in the Saghru, continued to apply it nonetheless. The provincial authorities seem to have usually turned a blind eye, probably because they were afraid of his wrath, for 'Assu u-Ba Slam was a most formidable opponent when roused. On one occasion he walked out of a gubernatorial meeting in Warzazat, and on another, held on a Friday, he started firing off his rifle because Friday, "is the day of religion, not of work, and because the new administration had changed everything".

He remained completely opposed to the dropping of the izirf right up to his death on August 16, 1960. He was buried in the cemetery of his home community of Taghya n-Ilimshan, and very soon after his death a small but steadfast cult developed around his grave, which has a steady trickle of visitors from all over 'Attaland; Ait 'Atta who want something badly enough go to the tomb of 'Assu u-Ba Slam with their requests. In death his status has come to resemble that of a tribal agurram, and when in 1965 his brother Bassu died he was buried beside him. For the Ait 'Atta the death of Hajj 'Assu u-Ba Slam represents the end of an era.

5.8 The Ait 'Atta and Independence

The Istiqlal party had won Independence for Morocco and it rose to power on the strength of this fact. Initially, enthusiasm for it was high, but soon waned, particularly in Berber-speaking areas, as the party was identified with urban dwellers generally and Fasis in particular. In addition the party's inspectors were turning into a nuisance with their exactions.

From late 1958, transhumant Berbers from the Middle and Central Atlas began to pay attention to Mahjub Ahardan, a former Army of Liberation leader from the Ait 'Amr of Ulmas (Oulmes) and former governor of Rabat, who, with Dr. 'Abd al-Krim Khatib, had founded a predominantly rural Berber political party, the Haraka Sha'biya (Popular Movement). The party came into open political life with the reburial in the Rif of a prominent Army of Liberation leader, killed in Fez two years earlier in an internal settling of accounts, an event which was one of several leading to the serious Aith Waryaghar uprising in 1958 and 1959 in the Rif.

Although the revolt occurred far from 'Attaland and although the Ait 'Atta had also not been involved in the abortive rebellion of 'Addi u-Bihi, the Ait Izdig governor of Tafilalt, in early 1957, they were sympathetic to any local political trend which ran counter to the Istiqlal. The Ait 'Atta also managed to avoid implication in the revolt of the Ait 'Abdi of the Kusar in March 1960. The Ait 'Abdi had declared for 'Abdallah Ibrahim, Prime Minister and a leading figure in the new left-wing offshoot of Istiqlal, the National Union of Popular Forces (UNFP). The Shura (Democratic Independence Party) of Muhammad Hasan al-Wazzani had been the main anti-Istiqlal tendency in the Rif and in Tafilalt, but in Tamazight speaking areas it was soon overshadowed by Ahardan's Popular Movement (65), with which the great majority of the Ait 'Atta soon came to actively sympathise (66).

The appeal of the Popular Movement was as much in its support for the monarchy and its anti-urban stance as in any particular pan-Berber platform. After the death of 'Assu u-Ba Slam, there was an interregnum for almost a year at Ikniwn, and at least one Istiqlal-oriented khalifa was thrown out for trying to push politics too hard. From 1960-1963, the Ait 'Atta looked very favourably on the Ahardan party. When Ahardan gave a speech at Ikniwn in December 1961, he paid DH 400 for a bull which he sacrificed to the Ait 'Atta, who greatly appreciated the gesture.

As late as 1975, the Ait 'Atta had not really entered tne arena of national politics, as they did not think it necessary. In any case, they lacked literate individuals who could do so, not even any who were literate in the

traditional sense, except for Hajj Sa'id u-Yidir u-Barka, of the Imsuffa of Zagura, who was elected by a 58 per cent majority in the parliamentary elections of June 1963 as the FDIC candidate (Front for the Defence of Constitutional Interests) for Zagura (Warzazat Province). This was a royalist merger of the Popular Movement - the Imazighen "belt" - and urban supporters of Prime Minister Gdira, all of whom had voted "yes" in the Constitutional Referendum of 1962 (67). Hajj Sa'id, although he and his father had supported the Glawi in the Dra before pacification, is a highly traditional and conservative figure of the type whom, like Qaid 'Ali, the Ait 'Atta most admire.

It was interesting that in the 1960-1963 period, political trends amongst the Haratin in the Dra tended, unlike the Ait 'Atta, to veer toward the left-wing UNFP, and hence to reflect in modern dress a traditional schism of long-standing. However, by 1965, King Hasan's suppression of Parliament and the centralisation of power in his hands and in those of the Minister of the Interior, the late General Ufqir, quickly eradicated the effectiveness of political differences at local level. Indeed, they eradicated the effectiveness of the parties themselves, which became mere ciphers, and a general stagnation spread through the Moroccan countryside (68).

Local reforms were also ineffective. The "rural commune" project, initiated by the Ministry of the Interior as early as 1958, for example, failed because the suq was too small and there was insufficient revenue for schools, irrigation projects or the local mosque. At Ikniwn a small suq on which construction began as early as 1963 only started functioning ten years later. The communes have little money and no power, all of which emanates from Rabat. Nonetheless, in 'Attaland, at least, there was certainly no opposition to the monarchy, indeed, totally the reverse.

When in July 1961, 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu n-Ait Ba Slam took charge as qaid at Ikniwn, he was chosen almost unanimously, for the way to his appointment had been paved by a delegation of 76 Ait 'Atta to Rabat the previous year to request his nomination from King Muhammad V. On the latter's death in February 1961, King Hasan II presented 'Ali u-l-Hajj with his dahir of investiture as qaid. The monarch apparently ratified 'Ali's nomination as qaid "over the heads of certain literate politicians" - for Qaid 'Ali is as illiterate as his father was - because in the Ait 'Atta context he deemed literacy to be irrelevant, and loyalty to be of paramount importance. In any group so attached to it qa'ida, its izirf, what counted was a local leader who could command unanimous local respect and who would work hard and honestly.

Of particular interest here is the fact that 'Assu n-Ba Slam's son should continue as qaid in such a strikingly

traditional context. Such an occurrence is very rare, possibly even unique, in the annals of modern Morocco. The qaid today is no longer the local tribal leader of pre-Protectorate and Protectorate times, but a member of the Moroccan political and bureaucratic elite, a trained administrative official, often quite young, who is appointed ultimately by the Ministry of Interior in Rabat. In this sense today's qaid corresponds far more with his predecessor, the French A.I. district officer, than he does with his tribal namesake. Nonetheless there was no question but that the right choice had been made here. Not only was Qaid 'Ali enormously popular with the Ait 'Atta but his devotion and loyalty to the monarchy seem unswerving.

When Qaid 'Ali decided to retire in 1974, his place as qaid at Ikniwn was taken by his eldest son l-Husain - thus making three generations in the nation's service (69). The latter was to lead the Saghru contingent of six hundred Ait 'Atta the pacific "Green March" to the Western Sahara in late 1975 as part of King Hasan's attempt to recuperate what Morocco regards as its national patrimony there after Spain decided to withdraw.

The Ait 'Atta are not highly politicised - or rather, they are noticeably less so than many other Berber-speaking Moroccans. This may well be because, even though many younger men have joined the nationwide current of labour migration to Western Europe (in 1975 there were 400 men from the Saghru alone in France and Holland), their izirf is still the key to their own self-identity. The fair dealing of the Qaid 'Ali at the local level in the Saghru, for example, over the distribution of flour donated to Morocco by the USA in 1961-1963 stands in marked contrast to what happened elsewhere. In many parts of the country government appointed qaids simply sold off the flour destined for their charges and pocketed the proceeds.

Perhaps the corruption and venality common throughout the national political system are factors enough to deter the Ait 'Atta from attempting to play politics. In any event, with the King as supreme arbiter in the continual play-off of rival patronage networks which constitutes the Moroccan national political game, the Ait 'Atta are well aware how marginal any advantages would be.

Chapter Notes

1 Information for this section is taken largely from A.G.P. Martin, Quatre Siècles d'Histoire Marocaine: Au Sahara de 1504 à 1902, au Maroc de 1894 à 1912, Paris: Laroux, 1923. Much of the rest is derived from the AGGA files in the Archives d'Outre-Mer at Aix-en-Provence (Series H), or from the Foreign Office Archives in the Public Record Office in London. Ross E. Dunn, op. cit., 1973, provides an admirable synopsis of the whole.

2 Martin, op. cit., 1923, passim.

3 Dunn, op. cit., 1973, p.101.

4 ibid., p.101.

5 ibid., p.101, text and fn.1, with appropriate archival references.

6 Dunn, op. cit., 1973, p.103.

7 Denoun, MS., op. cit., 1913, (AGGA Archives, Series H, Box 22H 79), paints a glowing picture of Mulay al-Hasan's activities in the Tafilalt.

8 Terrasse notes, significantly, that Mulay al-Hasan chose the route over the Tizi n-Tishka or Tizi n-Talwat because the qaids of the Glawa tribe resident there were already allies of the Makhzan. Cf. Henri Terasse, Histoire du Maroc, 2 vols., Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1951-1952, vol.II, pp.335-336.

9 Martin, op. cit., 1923, pp.352-362.

10 AGGA Archives, Series H, Box 22H 57, and same, Box 22H 59.

11 AGGA Archives, Series H, Box 22H 60 Carton 96; and same, Box 22H 60.

12 AGGA Archives, Series H, Boxes 22H 69 and 22H 70. Of considerable interest in this connection is a document entitled "Extrait du Procès-Verbal de la Commission des Revendications, Décembre 1912", MS., p.10, AGGA Archives, Series H, Box 1H 36. This report lists an overall total of 189 raids or "incidents" perpetrated on French troops or installations by tribesmen on the Algero-Moroccan frontier between June 17, 1900 and October 28, 1912, incidents which gave rise to French claims presented to the

Moroccan government.

13 Great Britain, Foreign Office Archives in the PRO (Public Record Office), London, FO 174/263, MacLeod to Nicolson, August 3, 1903, No.107, and FO 174/265, Hastings to Nicolson, January 7, 1904, No.3. (Ross E. Dunn, personal communications, June 17 and September 25, 1975.)

14 Edmund Burke III, personal communications, December 16, 1966, and January 11, 1974. The correct citation is: Great Britain, Foreign Office Archives, FO 174/271, MacLeod to Grey, June 29, 1911, No.49.

15 Cf. Amal Vinogradov and John Waterbury, "Situations of Contested Legitimacy in Morocco: An Alternative Framework", Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.13, No.1, January 1971, pp.32-59.

16 Journal Politique des Troupes d'occupation du Maroc Occidental, 1908-1912, Séries D, Dossier 14 (August 1910), Archives, Ministère de la Guerre, Maroc, Séries D, Service Historique de l'Armée, Château de Vincennes. (Dale F. Eickelman, personal communication, April 5, 1970). For a brief summary, cf. Eickelman, Moroccan Islam, Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1976, p.119.

17 Eickelman, personal communication, 1970, indicates that these same notations come from the Journal Politique of the French Corps de Débarquement, and are signed by Col. Branlière.

18 Gavin Maxwell, Lords of the Atlas: The Rise and Fall of the House of Glawa, 1893-1956, London: Longmans, 1966, has provided a narrative which fairly gallops along, but which suffers badly from uncritical treatment of its subject matter, and from a viewpoint which is totally bounded by the red walls of Marrakesh alone. The book contains not one iota of information on the question of 'Atta-Glawa relations.

19 Edmund Burke III, personal communication, May 16, 1968.

20 Spillmann, op, cit., 1936, pp.99-101.

21 Capt. Schoen, "Petite Histoire des Glawa", CHEAM, Confidential Reports No. 2685, 1957.

22 Lt. Beaurpère, op. cit., 1931, p.259. In 1929,

23 Robin Bidwell, Morocco under Colonial Rule: French Administration of Tribal Areas, 1912-1956, London: Frank Cass, 1973, pp.108-109.

24 Whether the money in question came from Protectorate funds or out of Lyautey's own pocket, or whether it was delivered to the Glawi over or under the counter, seems somewhat immaterial.

25 The account of this episode is taken from Capt. Schoen, MS., op. cit., 1957.

26 Capt. Vizioz, MS., op. cit., 1951-1952.

27 Capt. Paul Pennès and Lt. Georges Spillmann, "Les Pays Inaccessibles du Haut Dra", Revue de la Société de Géographie du Maroc, VI, 2e Partie, Nos. 3-4, 1929, pp.1-64, esp. pp.46-47.

28 ibid., p.47.

29 Lt. Terrasson, op. cit., 1933, pp.425-453.

30 Capt. Charpentier, MS., op. cit., 1930, (AGGA Series H, Box 31M 9).

31 General A. Huré, La Pacification du Maroc: Dernière Etape, 1931-1934, Paris: Editions Berger-Lebrault, 1952, pp.22-23.

32 L.J. Duclos, personal communication, July 1, 1968.

33 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.108.

34 Cf. Gen. Augustin Guillaume, Les Berbères Marocains et la Pacification de l'Atlas Central (1912-1933) Paris: René Julliard, 1946, pp.313-314. On page 264 of the same work there is a photograph showing them having just put their rifles down in a pile in front of an assembled group of French officers.

35 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.115, and idem, 1968, p.99. This episode is quite unreported in Huré's memoirs, op. cit., 1952.

36 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.121, and idem, op. cit., 1968, p.101.

37 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.122.

38 The form anagam is the pre-breakfast circumlocution for the normal term for "monkey", aghyul.

39 Spillmann, op. cit., 1968, p.105.

40 Guillaume, op. cit., 1946, pp.313-314.

41 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.136.

42 Spillmann, op. cit., 1968, p.113.

43 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.140.

44 Spillmann, op. cit., 1968, pp.115-116.

45 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, pp.141-142.

46 ibid., p.142, fn.2.

47 ibid., p.140.

48 ibid., p.143; also Spillmann, op. cit., 1968, p.117.

49 ibid., p.119.

50 ibid., p.119., see also Huré, op. cit., 1952, p.114.

51 Spillmann, op. cit., 1968, pp.119-120.

52 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, p.144. The same author also notes elsewhere (op. cit., 1968, p.133) that the Dra harka of 1400 men only lost 62 killed and wounded.

53 Huré, op. cit., 1952, pp.117-118.

54 Huré, op. cit., 1952, p.119.

55 Spillmann, op. cit., 1936, pp.148-149.

56 Lt. Thet, MS., op. cit., 1951.

57 Capt. de Monts de Savasse, "Les Jemaa dans le Sarhro", MS., op. cit., 1951.

58 de Monts de Savasse, "Les Jemaa ...", MS., op. cit., 1951.

59 de Monts de Savasse, "Le Régime Foncier ...", MS., op. cit., 1951, Annex III.

60 Capt. G. Gervasy, "Le Problème Politique du Ktawa-Mhamid vu de Tagounit", MS., Confidential Report, CHEAM, No.1202, December 2, 1947, 41pp.

61 Ernest Gellner, "Pattern of Rural Rebellion in Morocco During the Early Years of Independence", in Gellner and Micaud, op. cit., 1973, pp.361-374, esp. p.367, republished from Archives Européennes de Sociologie, III, 1962, pp.297-311. Gellner does not, however, provide us with the name of the individual in question.

62 Robert Montagne, Révolution au Maroc, Paris: Editions France-Empire, 1953, p.374, cited by Robin Bidwell, op. cit., 1973, p.59.

63 Bidwell, op. cit., 1973, p.59.

64 A fact noted in a recent and interesting, though not unbiased, account of the Moroccan resistance to the French. Cf. Abderrahim Ouardighi, La Grande Crise Franco-Marocaine, 1952-1956, Rabat; Editions Ouardighi, 1975, p.6. This work has two appendices, one a list of rural Moroccan authorities whose property was totally or partially confiscated in 1958 for their participation in the French plot with the Glawi to depose Muhammad V on August 20, 1953, (pp.142-148), and a second list of persons condemned who were later amnestied by Muhammad V's son Hasan I in 1963 (pp.150-158). It is significant that not a single Ait 'Atta name appears on these lists.

65 An account of the Aith Waryaghar uprising is given in D.M. Hart, "The Tribe in Modern Morocco" op. cit., 1973, pp.45-51, as well as in D.M. Hart, The Aith Waryaghar of the Moroccan Rif, op. cit., 1976, pp.426-432, while good accounts of both the 'Abdi u-Bihi episode and the rise of Ahardan's Popular Movement are found in I. William Zartman, Problems of New Power: Morocco, New York: Atherton Press, 1964, pp.79-82, and John Waterbury, The Commander of the Faithful: the Moroccan Political Elite - A Study in Segmented Politics, London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1970, pp.235-253.

66 At Usikis-Msimrir, for example, in the first nation-wide local elections held in May 1960, almost all votes went to the Istiqlal candidates, but within a year later the Popular Movement was uncontestably the most popular party.

67 Cf. Rémy Leveau, Le Role Politique des Elites Locales dans le Maroc Indépendant, Thèse pour le Doctorat d'Etat en Science Politique, Université de Paris -1: Pantheon-Sorbonne, 1973.

68 Waterbury, op. cit., 1970, pp.316-321; Ernest Gellner, "The Great Patron: A Reinterpretation of Tribal Rebellions", Archives Européennes de Sociologie, X, 1969, pp.61-69.

69 It is worth noting that as of 1975 there were five qaids from the Ait 'Atta in the provincial administration of Warzazat and Qsar s-Suq: ex-Qaid 'Ali, by then retired; his son l-Husain, at Ikniwn; a man from the family of Muhaddash in Qsar s-Suq; an Ait Unibgi man at Tawuz; and a son of Bassu u-Mimun (of the Ait Slillu of Nqub) at Fum Zgid.

6 CONCLUSION

It would be pointless to deny that social change with its all-embracing socio-economic and politico-jural aspects, has come to the Ait 'Atta over the last two decades. Whether such change has been an unmixed blessing is another matter. What seems striking, however, in Ait 'Atta reactions, is something that is by no means unique to themselves - namely that as far as politico-jural aspects of such change are concerned, the over forty-five age group seems strenuously opposed to them while the under-forty group now accepts them as a matter of course.

The legacy of Bu Gafr is still vigorously upheld by the surviving participants in the battle and, since February 28, 1981, an annual reunion has taken place at Ikniwn under the direction of a number of cabinet members including Mahjub Ahardan, the Secretary General of the Mouvement Populaire and, in 1982, Minister of State for Postal and Telecommunication. At the first meeting he gave a commemorative speech in Tamazight. In it he expressed the hope that this legacy and the spirit of resistance which it embodied would set an example to future generations of Ait 'Atta as responsible citizens of Morocco. Qaid 'Ali u-l-Hajj 'Assu was of course also present and was formally asked by the Minister of Interior if he wanted to resign; and he replied that he did not because the qaidship of the Ait 'Atta of the Saghru has been in the hands of his Ait Bu Tghuratin lineage of the Ilimshan since the time of his grandfather Ba Slam w-'Ali, and that the events leading up to and including Bu Gafr in 1933 only confirmed his command.

Nonetheless, segmentary organisation, the **khams khmas** concept, customary law and the tribal capital at Igharm Amazdar, all of which are also vital concomitants of the Bu Gafr legacy, have, without exception, been badly eroded over the course of the first generation since Independence. The younger Ait 'Atta elements, now fully drawn into generalised Moroccan labour migration in Western Europe, do not regret this erosion much. The older ones certainly

do, and complaints to the effect that the Shari'a is foreign to them and can never replace their izirf, with its emphasis on trial by collective oath, have been so frequent that the Ministry of Justice has been forced to do something about it. In the late 1970s customary tribunals were reinstated in the Tamazight-speaking areas, although jurisdiction has been limited to matters concerning property only and is, thus, considerably more curtailed than under the French.

The original complete rescinding of customary law, despite its partial reinstatement recently, is a primary modification. Another is the gradual replacement of segmentary and kinship ties at all but the lowest levels by networks of patronage and clientage, and by the process of bet-hedging as a major, perhaps the major, manoeuvre in economic, social and political life.

Although the creation of the "rural communes" (jama'at al-qarawiya) in 1958 was specifically designed to do away with the tribal framework of rural society in Morocco, its subsequent disintegration has, ironically, been due almost entirely to other factors. One of the principal of these is labour migration to France and elsewhere in Europe, the effects of which are now strikingly apparent, compared to 1960 when it was nonexistent. It has been convincingly argued that, at the local level, far from eradicating tribal structures, the rural commune system has, in some areas - of which 'Attaland is one - enhanced them by virtue of the fact that communal elections, when held, are one of the most visible backgrounds in which patronage-clientage relations can flourish (1). Indeed, in the Saghru during the 1970s the fact that an ex-mkhazni from the Ilimshan (a highly intelligent individual with a truly extra-ordinary knowledge of Customary Law) tried to run for shaikh at Ikniwn without Qaid 'Ali's approval and was forced to stand down shows that patronage cuts both ways (2). As Leveau has noted, the overall "Berber policy" of the administration and, to some extent, the hangover of Berque's "Berber Park" from the protectorate times in the Tamazight speaking region (3) tend toward ambiguity. Nonetheless collaboration with the monarchy has been very strong since Independence in this region, and 'Attaland forms no exception to this general rule.

In 1960, too, the Ait 'Atta were monolingual, almost to a man, speaking only Tamazight; and to a man, too, they wore turbans and silhams or jillabas. Today, the younger ones have learnt Arabic in the rural schools which have proliferated over the countryside since the promulgation of Operation School in 1963. They now also all wear Western style dress, and those who work in France return speaking quite passable French. Women, of course, remain monolingual, but even among them there has been modification in their traditional dress, and the triangular tabgust headgear, formerly such a strong visual Ist 'Atta

feature, is now on its way out. As elsewhere in Morocco, cars with European licence plates are very much in evidence, television sets and transistor radios are becoming almost a commonplace, and although house form has not changed, house construction, in both materials and techniques, is becoming considerably more Westernised as well. Everyone seems to be actively pleased about these developments or at the least to accept them as a matter of course.

The days of siba are long gone, and it is tacitly accepted by the younger generation that segmentary organisation is an unviable principle in the modern world. Under pressure from labour migration abroad as well as from local administration at home, social groupings like the taqbilt, which formerly formed the major building block in any local community - except when sometimes providing candidates for local elections - are breaking up into their component lineages, or ighsan, and these into their own constituent nuclear families, or takatin. After all, when economic change becomes as pervasive as it already has in 'Attaland, social change generally does not take long to follow suit.

Chapter Notes

1 Especially Rémy Leveau, Le Fellah Marocain: Défenseur du Thrône, Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, No.203, Paris: Presse de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, 1976, pp.83-89, 125-128.

2 One waggish informant, in this connection, compared the ex-mkhanzis and would-be shaikh's behaviour to that of Ex-President Nixon and Qaid 'Ali's to that of Watergate!

3 Leveau, op. cit., p.84; Jacques Berque, Le Maghreb entre Deux Guerres, Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1963, pp.227-230.

7 APPENDIX

TRANSHUMANCE ZONES OF THE AIT 'ATTA OF THE QIBLA (SOUTHERN 'ATTA) AND OF USIKIS-MSIMRIR, IN THE ANNEX OF THE AIT MHAND (MHAMMAD)

Capt. J. -A. Ithier, Bureau des A.I., Zawiya Ahansal, Annexe des Ait Mhammad, June 13, 1947:

Pasturage Zone I: IGURDAN
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait Mhand (Mhammad) - 52,000 head of livestock
Ait Unir of Barnat - 12,000 head
Ait 'Ali of Ait Bu Gimmaz - 3,000 head

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait Slillu - 20,000 head
Ait Unir of Dra - 5,000 head
Ait Uzzin (of Ait Wallal, Tazarin) - 4,000 head
Ait Hmad, Dadss - no figure given

Opening Date: 17 Mayyu (June 1)
Closing Date: unknown
Effective Agreements: Official statement, June 23, 1936; boundary delimitation May 5 and 8, 1927; and Official Statement arbitration of June 12, 1941.
Quotas: See "Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups".

Pasturage Zone II: IZUGHAR
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait Hakim of Ait Bu Gimmaz.
Note: The following seem to have been omitted: Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim and Ignawen of the Southern Ait Wahlim

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ilimshan of Ikniwn
Ait Bu Dawud

Ait Bu Iknifen of the South and of Msimrir
Ait Mraw of Imgunn (Mguna)

Opening Date: When snow thaws, in all cases.
Closing Date: All summer for Ait Hakim of Ait Bu Gimmaz and for Ait Mraw of Imgunn; one month of use in each of the other, Ait 'Atta cases.
Effective Agreements: Official statement, June 10, 1936; boundary delimitations 1942 of Agudal n-w-'Amran; Official statement of June 23, 1936; Official statement of arbitration 1941.
Quotas: None except for Ait Mraw of Imgunn - 3,500 head.

Pasturage Zone III: AFILLA N-IZRAN
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast (Tilmist).

(b) South /Usikis-Msimrir: Ait Bu Iknifen of South and of Usikis-Msimrir.
Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, Ignawen and
Ait Bu Dawud.

Opening and Closing Dates: Snow thaw opening with closing 17 Mayyu, for all Ait Bu Iknifen groups. 17 Mayyu opening and 17 Ghusht closing for Ait Bu Dawud. 17 Ghusht opening and mid-September closing for Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim and Ignawen.
Effective Agreements: an additional clause to be provided after study by Lt. Ithier, August 6, 1947.
Quotas: None (unlimited head).

Pasturage Zone IIIA: TILIMSIN
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ihansalen and Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast (Tilmist)

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait Bu Iknifen of South and of Usikis-Msimrir.
Ait 'Aisa u-Brahim, Ignawen and gratis,
Ait Bu Dawud.

Opening Date: 17 Mayyu
Closing Date: 15-17 Ibril
Effective Agreements: Official statement, June 16, 1934; regional decision of October 12, 1934;
Official statement arbitration 1941
Quotas: None.

Pasturage Zone IV: DDAW N-IZRAN

(Reading from North to South: Tallat n-Tizi n-l-'Azz, Ravines of Wawsdramt, Ufintu', Imùzir, Tafrawt n-Taghrut, Cirque of Tagragra, Tadaishfast, Wawghirit Yighdir).

Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast (Tilmist).

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait Bu Iknifen of South and of Usikis-Msimrir.

Opening and Closing Dates: open all year, save for period of snow, for Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast. Opening 17 Mayyu and closing mid-September (ie., AD rather than Julian calendar or 'am l-filaha) for Ait Bu Iknifen of South and of Usikis-Msimrir.
Effective Agreements: Official statement of June 23, 1936 and out-of-court agreement to extend Yighdir to cultivated zone; Official statement arbitration 1941. Dions*Region of June 16, 1941, and No.745 of March 22, 1947.
Quotas: None.

Pasturage Zone IVA: TALMAST (TILMIST)
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast (Tilmist)

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait Bu Iknifen of South and of Usikis-Msimrir.

Opening Date: first day of l-'Ansart (DMH: Summer Solstice, June 24 - or July 24?)
Closing Date: mid-September (AD)
Effective Agreements: Garound * boundary delimitation of 1936; Official statement arbitration 1941 (cf. Cor. 1029 of February 25, 1944, Tinghir).
Quotas: None.

Pasturage Zone IVB: AMAN MALLULEN
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait Bu Iknifen of Talmast (Tilmist)

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir: None

Opening and Closing Dates: Open all year.
Effective Agreements: Official statement August 8, 1935; Official statement February 8, 1946.
Quotas: None.

Pasturage Zone V: AGUDAL N-ILIMSHAN
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ihansalen of Zawiya Ahansal

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir: Ilimshan

Opening and Closing Dates: Opening end of September and closing 10 March for Ihansalen. Opening end of June and closing end of September for Ilimshan.
Effective Agreements: Official statement August 20, 1935; delimitation of June 14, 1941, and arbitration 1941.
Quotas: None.

Pasturage Zone VA, Eastern Face: TAMRUSHT
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: none

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir: Ilimshan

Note: On the other hand, the Ihansalen have exclusive right to the zone between the eastern face of Tamrusht and the Agudal n-Ilimshan (cf. Official statement August 20, 1935).

Opening Date: 17 Mayyu
Closing Date: End of September.
Effective Agreements: An additional clause to be provided after study by Lt. Ithier, June 8, 1947.
Quotas: None.

Pasturage Zone VI: TADRARAT (TADRART)/BU YUGHLALEN
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ihansalen

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait 'Atta of Usikis and Msimrir.

Opening and Closing Dates: open all year except for period of snow.
Effective Agreements: Official statement August 9, 1934;

Official statement arbitration of 1941.
Quotas: None.

Pasturage Zone VIA: ALMU N-AIT L-FIRSI (AIT L-FARSI)
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait 'Abdi of Tafrawt (Ait w-'Afar)

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait l-Firsi (Ait l-Farsi) of Tinghir

Opening and Closing Dates: open all year except for period of snow.
Effective Agreements: Official statement arbitration 1941.
Quotas: Quota system enforced - Ait l-Firsi allowed 800 head.

Pasturage Zone VIB: TAFRAWT N-AIT 'ABDI
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait 'Abdi of Tafrawt (Ait w-'Afar)

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait 'Atta of Usikis and Msimrir.

Opening and Closing Dates: open all year except for period of snow.
Effective Agreements: Official statement August 9, 1934; which also gives grazing rights, without rights to camp, to the Ait 'Abdi (of the Ait Sukhman) on the ALMU N-AIT MURGHAD (MIRGHAD).
Quotas: No quotas, but grazing rights only, without camping rights.

Pasturage Zone VII: SILLULT
Beneficiary Tribal and Clan Groups:

(a) North: Ait 'Abdi (Ait Sukhman) of Zawiya.
Ahansal (Kusar Plateau).
Ait Bindaq (Ait Sukhman) of Anargi.
Ait Hadiddu of Imilshil.

(b) South/Usikis-Msimrir:
Ait Hadiddu and Ait Murghad (Mirghad) of the Imdghas.

Opening Date: June 1, in all cases.
Closing Date: September 30, in all cases.
Effective Agreements: Official statement September 8, 1934;

Official statement August 1, 1936.

Quotas: None for Ait 'Abdi of Zawiya Ahansal;
200 head for Ait Bindaq of Anargi;
500 for Ait Hadiddu of Imilshil; and
700 for Ait Hadiddu and Ait Murghad of the Imdghas.

Further Notations: Watering Rights of Ait w-Anargi (Ait Sukhman): Aghbalu n-Tiggurt - 12 tents (6 of Indahan), 6 of Ait Bu l-Man or Bulman); Aghbalu n-Issugim - common spring for Ait 'Abdi, Ait w-Anargi, and Ait Bu Iknifen, but no flocks allowed, only lambs; Aghbalu n-Igli - belongs to Ait Bu Iknifen, but has watering rights for Ait w-Anargi without grazing rights; Aghbalu n-U-Haiduz - belongs to Ait Bu Iknifen, but has watering rights for Ait w-Anargi without grazing rights.

*

Dion and Garond were probably the names of the respective A.I.Officers at the time the document was drawn up.

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